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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE:
WITH AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
DECLINE & FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE;
AND A VIEW OF THE
PROGRESS OF SOCIETY,
FROM THE
RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS TO THE PEACE OF PARIS,
IN 1763.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS FROM A NOBLEMAN TO HIS SON.

A NEW EDITION,
WITH
A CONTINUATION,
EXTENDING TO THE PACIFICATION OF PARIS, IN 1815

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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

PART I.

FROM THE RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS, TO THE PEACE OF
WESTPHALIA, IN 1648.

LETTER L.

Of the Contest in England between the Houses of York and Lancaster, to its final extinction in the Accession of the House of Tudor.

I HAVE already had occasion to notice the weakness of Henry VI. His incapacity appeared every day in a stronger light. The more he was known, the more his authority was despised; and when the war in France began to languish, men of restless and ambitious spirits took A. D. 1450. occasion to disturb his government, and tear with intestine commotions the bowels of their native country.

But the miseries of Henry and of England did not arise solely from these causes; a pretender to the crown appeared; and a title which had never been disputed during the prosperous reign of Henry V. was now called in question under his feeble successor. This competitor was Richard duke of York. He lineally traced his origin from the duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., and consequently stood in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the duke of Lancaster, fourth son of that monarch.

Such a claim could not, in some respects, have fallen into more dangerous hands. The duke of York was a man of va-

lour and abilities, which he had found frequent opportunities of displaying. In the right of his father, the earl of Cambridge, he bore the rank of first prince of the blood : he possessed an immense fortune ; and was connected by marriage and friendship with many of the most powerful nobles. He was generally beloved by the people, whose discontents, at this time, rendered every combination of the great more dangerous to the throne.

The administration of the realm was now in the hands of the queen and William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, who had attracted universal odium. Margaret was still regarded as a French woman, and a latent enemy to the kingdom, who had betrayed the interests of England in favour of her family and her country. Suffolk was considered as her accomplice ; and the murder of the duke of Gloucester, in which both were known to have been concerned, rendered them yet more obnoxious to the nation.

The partisans of Richard took advantage of these causes of popular discontent to impeach the duke of Suffolk in parliament of various crimes and misdemeanours ; and the king, in order to save his minister, banished him for five years. But his enemies, sensible that he still possessed the queen's confidence, and would be recalled on the first opportunity, employed a captain of a ship to intercept him in his passage to France. He was accordingly seized near Dover ; his head was struck off on the side of a long boat, and his body thrown into the sea¹.

The duke of Somerset succeeded to Suffolk's power in the administration and credit with the queen : and as he was the person under whose government the French provinces had been lost, the people, who always judge by events, soon made him equally the object of their animosity. In consequence of these discontents, the house of commons presented a petition to the king, praying him to remove the duke of Somerset
 A. D. 1451. for ever from his person and counsels. This application was unsuccessful ; but when Henry had contracted a disorder which increased his natural imbecility, the
 A. D. 1454. queen and the council, unable to resist the popular party, were obliged to yield to the torrent. They sent Somerset to the Tower, and appointed the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a session of parliament : and that assembly created him Protector during pleasure².

When the king had so far recovered from his indisposition as to be able to maintain the appearance of authority, his friends urged him to annul the regency of Richard, release Somerset, and commit the administration into the hands of that nobleman. The

¹ Hall. Stow.—Continuation of Hist. England.

² Parl. Hist. vol. ii.—Rymer, vol. xi

duke of York, sensible of his danger, levied an army, in order to support his parliamentary commission, but without advancing any pretensions to the crown, though his title was generally acknowledged. A battle was risked near St. Alban's, where the Lancastrians were routed, and the duke of Somerset fell. The king himself was made prisoner by the duke of York, and, while he was treated with apparent kindness, was obliged to resign (what he valued little) the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival³. A. D. 1455.

Richard, however, did not yet claim the royalty in form : he was still content with the title of Protector: and an outward reconciliation took place between the parties. A solemn procession to St. Paul's was appointed, in order to make known this amity to the people. The duke of York led queen Margaret; and a chieftain of one party marched hand in hand with a chieftain of the opposite. But a contest for a crown could not be thus peaceably accommodated. Each party watched only for an opportunity of subverting the other ; and the smallest incident, without any formed design, was sufficient to dissolve the seeming harmony. Two servants of the rival houses quarrelled : their companions took part in the fray; a fierce combat ensued ; and both parties, in every county of England, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by arms⁴. A. D. 1458.

A battle was fought at Blore-heath, on the border of Staffordshire, where the royalists were defeated, and chased off the field with considerable loss. But this victory was not sufficient to decide the fate of England ; and fortune soon shifted sides. When the two armies approached each other near Ludlow, and a general action was every hour expected, Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded a choice body of veterans, deserted to the king ; and the Yorkists were so dismayed at this instance of treachery, which made every man suspicious of his fellow, that they separated without striking a blow⁵. A. D. 1459.

In this extremity the duke of York fled to Ireland, where he had formerly acquired great popularity ; and his partisans in England kept themselves in readiness to rise on the first summons from their leaders. That requisition proceeded from the earl of Warwick, governor of Calais, the most extraordinary man of his time : and, from the subsequent events, commonly known by the appellation of the *King Maker*. He landed in Kent, where he was joined by several persons of distinction : and as the people bore him an unlimited affection, his army increased every day. He entered London amid the acclamations of the populace : he advanced to A. D. 1460.

3 Stow.—Hall.—Holinshed. 4 Fabian's Chron.—Grafton. 5 Grafton.—Holinshed.

meet the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him; and a battle ensued at Northampton, where the July 10. Lancastrians received a sanguinary defeat. Henry himself, that empty shadow of a king, was again made prisoner, and carried in triumph to his capital⁶.

A parliament was now summoned at Westminster, where the duke of York soon appeared from Ireland, and put in his claim to the crown. He advanced towards the throne; and, addressing himself to the house of peers, pleaded his cause before them as his natural and legal judges. He gave them a deduction of his title by descent; mentioned the cruelties by which the house of Lancaster had paved its way to sovereign power; insisted on the calamities which had attended the government of Henry; and exhorted them to return to the right path, by doing justice to the lineal heir; then respectfully left the house, as no one desired him to seat himself upon the throne.

Such a degree of moderation is not perhaps to be paralleled in history; and was little to be expected in those violent and licentious times, from a prince who had a victorious army at his command. The peers, on their part, discovered an equal share of firmness and composure. They called in some of the most considerable members among the commons to assist in their deliberations: and, after having heard, during six days, the reasons alleged by both parties, they declared the duke's title certain and indefeasible; but, as Henry had so long enjoyed the crown without dispute or controversy, they determined that he should continue to possess the title and dignity of king during the remainder of his life: that the administration, in the meanwhile, should remain with Richard, and that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy. The duke acquiesced in this decision; and Henry himself, being a prisoner, could not well oppose it⁷.

The duke of York had a very short enjoyment of the honour of this new settlement, and never attained the envied title of king. After the battle of Northampton, queen Margaret had fled with her son into Scotland; but soon returning, she applied to the northern barons of England, and employed every argument to procure their assistance. Her affability, insinuation, and address, aided by caresses and promises, wrought a powerful effect on all who approached her. The admiration of her great qualities was succeeded by compassion for her helpless

⁶ J. de Whethamstede.—Hall.

⁷ Parl. Hist. vol. ii.—Cotton.—Grafton.—Holinshed.—This account is contradicted in some particulars by Whethamstede, the abbot of St Alban's: but a single authority, however respectable, is not sufficient to overthrow general testimony.

state. The nobility of the north entered warmly into her cause ; and she soon found herself at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, collected with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends nor apprehended by her enemies.

Richard now hastened northward with a body of five thousand men, to suppress, as he imagined, the beginnings of an insurrection. He met the queen near Wakefield ; and though he found himself so much outnumbered by the enemy, his pride would not permit him to retreat before a woman. He gave battle, and was killed in the action. His body being Dec. 30. found among the slain, his head was cut off by Margaret's order, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it, in derision of his pretended title. His second son, the earl of Rutland, was taken prisoner, and barbarously murdered in cool blood by lord Clifford, in revenge of the death of his father, who had fallen in the battle of St. Alban's ; and the captive earl of Salisbury was beheaded, with several other persons of distinction. This inhuman practice, thus begun, was continued by both parties, from a vindictive spirit, which affected to conceal its enormity under the pretence of retaliation.

Elate with this important victory, Margaret advanced towards London, where the earl of Warwick was left with the command of the Yorkists. On the approach of the Lancastrians, that nobleman led out his army, reinforced by a strong body of Londoners, and gave battle to the queen at A. D. 1461. St. Alban's. Margaret was again victorious, by the treachery of one Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of the Yorkists, and withdrew from the combat. She had the pleasure of seeing the formidable Warwick fly before her, and of rescuing the king her husband from captivity.

But the queen's triumph, though glorious, was of short duration, and not altogether complete. Warwick was still in possession of London, on which she made an unsuccessful attempt ; and Edward earl of March, eldest son of the late duke of York, having gained an advantage over the Lancastrians at Mortimer's cross, near Hereford, approached her from the other side, and was soon in a condition to give her battle with superior forces. She was sensible of her danger, in such a situation, and retreated with her army to the North ; while Edward entered the capital amid the acclamations of the citizens, and immediately opened a new scene to his party.

This young prince, who was remarkable for the beauty of his person, for his bravery, his activity, his affability, and every popular quality, found himself so high in public favour, that, instead of confining himself within those narrow limits which had

been found by experience so prejudicial to his father's cause, he determined to assume the name and dignity of king, to insist openly on his claim, and thenceforth to treat the opposite party as traitors and rebels to his lawful authority. But a national consent, or the appearance of it at least, seemed necessary to precede so bold a measure; and for this purpose, as it might have been hazardous to convene a parliament, the populace were assembled in St. John's fields. When the bishop of Exeter had recommended the claim of Edward, and inveighed against the tyranny and usurpation of the house of Lancaster, the people March 1. were asked, whether they would have Henry or Edward for their king: They instantly exclaimed, "Edward of York!" This popular election was ratified by an assembly of nobles both spiritual and temporal; and the youth was proclaimed under the title of king Edward IV^o.

Edward, who was then in his nineteenth year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through such a scene of war, havoc, and devastation, as was presented before him. He was not only bold, active, and enterprising, but his hardness of heart, and severity of character, rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion which might relax his vigour in the prosecution of the most bloody designs upon his enemies. Hence the scaffold, as well as the field, during this reign, incessantly smoked with the noblest blood of England. The animosity between the contending families had now become implacable; and the nation, divided in its affections, took different symbols of party. The adherents of the house of Lancaster chose, as their mark of distinction, the *Red Rose*; those of York assumed the *White*: and these civil wars were thus known over Europe by the name of the "Quarrel between the *Two Roses*."

Queen Margaret, as I have observed, had retired to the North. There such multitudes flocked to her standard, that she was soon furnished with an army of sixty thousand men. The king and the earl of Warwick hastened with above forty thousand, to March 29. check her progress. The two armies met at Towton, and a fierce and bloody battle ensued. The bow, then commonly used, was soon laid aside, and the sword decided the combat, which terminated in a total victory on the side of the Yorkists. Edward issued orders to give no quarter; and his routed enemies were pursued as far as Tadcaster, with great bloodshed and confusion. Above thirty-six thousand men are said to have fallen in the battle and pursuit. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being sensible that no place in Eng-

land could now afford them shelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland¹⁰.

I must here say a few words of the state of that country. The Scots, notwithstanding the animosity between the two nations, had never made any vigorous attempts to take advantage either of the wars which England carried on with France, or of the civil commotions which arose from the competition for the crown. James I. who had been long a prisoner in England, and had received his education there (as I have had occasion to notice), avoided all hostilities with foreign nations. He was more laudably employed in civilising his subjects, and training them to the salutary restraints of law and justice. After the murder of this excellent prince, whose maxims and manners were too refined for the people whom he had to govern, the minority of his son James II., and the distractions with which it was attended, prevented the Scots from molesting England. But when the quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster had become incurable, unless by the extinction of one of the parties, James, who had now risen to manhood, was tempted to make use of that opportunity, in hopes of recovering those places which the English had conquered from his ancestors. He invested the castle of Roxburgh, and had provided himself with some pieces of cannon in order to forward the siege; but one of them unhappily bursting, as he was firing it, put an end to his life. His son James III. was yet a minor; and the disturbances common to minorities ensued in the government. The queen dowager, Anne of Gueldres, aspired to the regency; the house of Douglas opposed her pretensions: so that the queen of England, when she arrived in Scotland, found there a people little less divided by faction than those from whom she had fled.

The Scottish council, however, agreed to assist Margaret, on her offering to deliver up to them the important fortress of Berwick, and to contract her son in marriage with a sister of their young king. With her northern auxiliaries and some succours from France, she ventured once more A. D. 1464. to take the field, and to make an inroad into England. But, at Hexham, she was attacked by lord Montacute, brother to the earl of Warwick, who totally routed her motley army. All the nobles who were spared in the field suffered on the scaffold¹¹.

The fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this overthrow, was equally singular and affecting. Margaret fled with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, but was beset during the darkness of the night by robbers, who despoiled her of her jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. She made her escape, however, while they were quarrelling about

¹⁰ Wethamstedc.—Hall.

¹¹ Hall.—Stow.

the booty; and wandered some time with her son in the most unfrequented thickets, nearly exhausted with hunger and fatigue, and ready to sink beneath the load of terror and affliction. In this wretched condition she was met by a robber with his sword drawn; and seeing no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the bold resolution of trusting entirely to his faith and generosity. "Approach, my friend!"—cried she, presenting to him the young prince!—"to you I commit the safety of your king's son." Struck with the singularity of the event, and charmed with the confidence reposed in him, the robber became her protector. By his favour she was concealed in the forest till she found an opportunity of escaping into Flanders; whence she passed to her father in Lorraine, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement¹². Henry was less fortunate in finding the means of escape. He lay concealed during twelve months in Lancashire; but was at last discovered, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower¹³. A. D. 1465.

The youthful monarch, having thus triumphed over his adversaries, resigned himself freely to those pleasures and amusements which his rank, his time of life, and his natural disposition, no less tuned for love than war, invited him to enjoy.—The cruel and unrelenting Edward lived in the most familiar and social manner with his subjects. He was the peculiar favourite of the young and gay of both sexes; and the elegance of his person, as well as the gallantry of his address, which even in the humblest condition would have rendered him acceptable to the fair, facilitated all his applications for their favour. But it is difficult to confine the ruling passion within the bounds of prudence. The amorous and ardent spirit of Edward led him into a snare, which endangered his repose and the stability of his throne.

This prince, while in the height of dissipation, had resolved to marry, in order to secure his throne by issue, as well as by alliances: and he had cast his eyes on Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France. The negotiation was committed to the earl of Warwick; the proposals were accepted, and the treaty was concluded. Meanwhile the charms of Elizabeth, the widow of sir John Grey of Groby, had inflamed the amorous heart of Edward. Her husband had been slain, fighting on the side of the house of Lancaster, and his estate confiscated; and when the king came accidentally, after a hunting party, to the house of her father, sir Richard Wideville, she threw herself at his feet, and intreated him to take pity on her impoverished and helpless children.

¹² Monstrelet, vol. iii.

¹³ Id. *ibid.*—Stow

The sight of so much beauty in distress strongly affected the susceptible Edward. Love insensibly stole into his heart, under the disguise of compassion. He raised the fair suppliant from the ground with assurances of favour ; and as his passion was increased by the winning conversation of Elizabeth, he soon found himself reduced to that posture and style of solicitation which had been so lately hers. But all his entreaties were fruitless ; she obstinately refused to gratify his passion : and the young and gallant monarch found for once a virtue which his fondest assiduities could not bend. Inflamed by opposition, and filled with veneration for such honourable sentiments, Edward lost sight of all but love. He offered to share his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman whose beauty of person, and dignity of character, seemed so well to entitle her to both : and the marriage was privately celebrated at her father's seat in Northamptonshire¹⁴.

The earl of Warwick no sooner received intelligence of the king's marriage than he returned from France, inflamed with rage and indignation, at being employed in a deceitful treaty, and kept a stranger to the intentions of the prince, who owed every thing to his friendship. The king was sensible that the earl had been used ill ; but his pride, or false shame, prevented him from making an apology, or attempting to soothe the incensed peer. The advancement of the queen's relatives to offices of power and trust, to the exclusion of those of Warwick, whom she regarded as her mortal enemy, heightened his discontent, and made him resolve to ruin the king he had made.

In order to effect his purpose, the earl drew over to his interest the king's brother George, duke of Clarence, by offering him in marriage his eldest daughter, co-heiress of his immense fortune. Many of the ancient nobility envied the sudden growth of the Widevilles. They associated themselves with Warwick ; who finding his own name insufficient, and being chased into France, after some unsuccessful struggles, entered into a league with queen Margaret, formerly his most de-
A. D. 1470.
 termined enemy. On his return to England, he was joined by the whole body of Lancastrians. Both parties now prepared for a general decision by arms ; but Edward, finding himself betrayed by the marquis of Montacute, and suspicious of other noblemen, who pretended to support his title, suddenly abandoned his army, and fled to Holland. Henry VI. was taken from his confinement, and placed once more upon the English throne ; and a parliament, called under the influence of Warwick, declared Edward IV. an usurper¹⁵. Oct. 6.

¹⁴ Hall.—Grafton¹⁵ Stow.—Hall.

But this revolution was only the effect of the giddiness of faction. Warwick was no sooner at the helm of government than his popularity began to decline, though he appears to have been guilty of no unpopular act; so fugitive a thing is public favour! The young king was emboldened to return. He landed at Ravenspur, where Henry IV. had disembarked on a similar occasion; and although he brought with him only two thousand men, he soon found himself in a condition to face the earl of Warwick. The gates of London being opened to him, he became at once master of his capital and of the person of his rival Henry, doomed to be the perpetual sport of fortune. Without waiting the return of queen Margaret, whose presence would have been of great service to her party, the earl of Warwick found himself obliged by the rapid progress of Edward, whom the fickle Clarence had joined with twelve thousand men, to hazard a general engagement. The battle April 14. was fought with great obstinacy on both sides. The two armies, in imitation of their leaders, displayed uncommon acts of valour, and the contest for victory remained long undecided; but an accident threw at last the balance on the side of the Yorkists. Edward's cognisance was a sun, that of Warwick was a star with rays: and the mistiness of the morning rendering it difficult to distinguish them, a body of the Lancastrians were attacked by their friends, and driven off the field.— Warwick did all that experience, conduct, or valour, could suggest, to repair the mistake, but in vain. He had engaged on foot that day, contrary to his usual practice, in order to show his troops that he was resolved to share every danger with them; and now, sensible that all was lost, unless a change of fortune could be wrought by some extraordinary effort, he rushed into the midst of the engagement, and fell, covered with wounds. His brother the marquis underwent the same fate; and a great slaughter attended the pursuit.

Queen Margaret, and her son Edward, now in his eighteenth year, landed at Weymouth the same day on which that decisive battle was fought. She had hitherto sustained the shocks of fortune with surprising fortitude; but when she received intelligence of her husband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick, her courage failed her, and she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu. Encouraged, however, by the appearance of the earl of Pembroke, and several other noblemen, who exhorted her still to hope for success, she resumed her former spirit, and determined to assert to the last her husband's claim to the crown. She accordingly put herself once more at the head of the army, which increased in every day's march; but the ardent and expeditious Edward overtook her at Tewkes-

bury, on the banks of the Severn, where the Lancastrians were totally routed. Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, and brought to the king, who asked the prince, in an imperious tone, how he dared to invade his dominions? "I came hither," replied the undaunted youth, more mindful of his high birth than his present fortune, "to revenge my father's wrongs, and "rescue my just inheritance out of your hands." Incensed at his freedom, instead of admiring the boldness of his spirit, the ungenerous Edward barbarously struck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, lord Hastings, and sir Thomas Grey, taking this blow as a signal for further violence, hurried the prince aside, and instantly dispatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the Tower, where her husband Henry had just expired. It was pretended that he died of grief; but there is little doubt of his having been murdered.

The hopes of the house of Lancaster being thus extinguished, by the death of every legitimate prince of that family, Edward, who had no longer any enemy that could give him anxiety or alarm, was encouraged to resume his habits of pleasure and amusement; and he recovered, by his gay humour and his easy familiar manners, that popularity which must have been in some degree impaired by the cruelties exercised upon his enemies. The example also of his jovial festivity served to abate the acrimony of faction among his subjects, and to restore the social disposition which had been so long interrupted between the opposite parties. But although Edward was fond of pleasure, he was not deaf to the calls of ambition; and a projected invasion of France, in order to recover the dominions lost under his predecessor, tended to increase his popularity.

The project of a French war has always proved the sure means of uniting the people of England, and of making the members of parliament open their purses. Edward received a considerable supply, and passed over to Calais with A. D. 1475. fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers, besides other troops. He was attended by his chief nobility, who, animated by former successes, were eager to appear once more on the theatre of honour. But their ardour was damped when they found, on entering the French territories, that their king's ally, the duke of Burgundy, did not bring the smallest assistance. Transported by his fervid spirit, that prince had carried his troops to the frontier of Germany, where they were employed in hostilities against the duke of Lorraine. Louis XI., however, alarmed at the presence of so warlike and powerful a monarch as Edward, proposed an accommodation;

and a treaty was concluded, by which he agreed to pay the king of England immediately seventy-five thousand crowns, and fifty thousand crowns a-year during their joint lives¹⁶.

This treaty reflected little honour on either of the monarchs. It discovered the imprudence of the one, and the pusillanimity of the other. But as Louis made interest the sole test of his honour, he thought he had over-reached Edward, by sending him out of France on such easy terms. The most honourable article on the side of Louis was the stipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret. He paid fifty thousand crowns for her ransom: and this princess, who, in active scenes of life, had experienced so remarkably the vicissitudes of fortune, passed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy. Margaret seems not to have possessed the virtues or to have been subject to the weaknesses of her sex; and she was as much tainted with the ferocity, as endowed with the courage, of the age in which she lived.

The dark and unrelenting disposition of Richard, duke of Gloucester, the future scourge of England, began more particularly to discover itself after Edward's return from France. The duke of Clarence, by his service in deserting Warwick, had not been able to regain the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He had also the misfortune to offend his brother Gloucester, who secretly conspired his ruin. Several of his friends were accused and put to death, under frivolous pretences, in hopes that his resentment would betray him into measures which might furnish a ground of impeachment. He fell into the snare. Instead of securing his own life against the present danger by silence and reserve, he was open and loud in asserting the innocence of his friends, and in exclaiming against the iniquity of their prosecutors. The king ordered him to be committed to the tower; and A. D. 1478. he was sentenced to die by the house of peers, the supreme tribunal of the nation, for arraiging public justice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature. The only favour which the king granted him was the choice of his death: and he was privately drowned in a butt of malmsey¹⁷; a whimsical choice, which leads us to suppose that he was passionately fond of that liquor.

The remaining part of Edward's reign was distinguished by no remarkable event. He relapsed into indolence and pleasure, from which he was again roused by the prospect of a French war. While he was making preparations with that view, he was seized with a violent distemper, of which he died, in the

¹⁶ Rymer, vol. xii.—Phil. de Comines, liv. iv.

¹⁷ Fabian.—Comines.—Holinshed.

forty-first year of his age. He was a prince of greater vigour than prudence, and consequently less fitted to prevent ills by wise precautions, than to remedy them after they had taken place. As a man he possessed many accomplishments: his virtues were few, his vices were numerous.

He left two sons; namely, Edward V. then in his thirteenth year; and Richard duke of York, in his ninth. The duke of Gloucester, their uncle, soon took them out of the hands of their reluctant mother, who seemed to forbode their unhappy fate. He easily procured the appointment of protector; and his eye was fixed upon the throne, though not only the sons of Edward, but those of the duke of Clarence, stood between him and that pre-eminence.

An attempt to exclude or destroy so many persons possessed of a preferable right may seem equally imprudent and impracticable. But a man like Richard, who had abandoned all principles of honour and humanity, was soon carried, by his predominant passion, beyond the reach of fear or precaution. He ordered earl Rivers the queen's brother, Sir Richard Grey, her son by her former husband, and sir Thomas Vaughan, to be thrown into prison, and put to death without any form of trial. His next step was to draw into his views the duke of Buckingham and lord Hastings. With one he succeeded; but the other remained firm in his allegiance to the children of Edward. His death was therefore resolved upon; and for that purpose a council was summoned in the Tower, whither Hastings, suspecting no harm, repaired without hesitation.

Richard, on taking his place at the council-board, appeared in the easiest and most facetious humour imaginable; but making a pretence soon after to retire, as if called away by urgent business, he returned knitting his brows, grinding his teeth, and exhibiting, by frequent change of countenance, symptoms of inward perturbation. A general silence ensued, every one dreading some terrible catastrophe, and all gazing with looks of doubt and anxiety upon each other. Richard at last relieved them from their awful suspense. "What punishment do they deserve," said he, "who have conspired against my life?"—"The death of traitors," replied lord Hastings. "These traitors," cried Richard, "are the sorceress, my brother's wife, and that witch Shore, his mistress, with their associates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their spells and incantations!" uncovering his shrivelled and decayed arm. The amazement of the council was increased, it being well known that this infirmity had attended him from his childhood; and lord Hastings, who since Edward's death had engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, was natural-

ly alarmed at such an accusation. "Certainly, my lord," said he, with some hesitation, "if they are guilty of such a crime, they deserve punishment."—"And do you," exclaimed Richard, "reply to me with your *ifs*? You know their guilt: you are yourself a traitor, and the chief abettor of the witch Shore; and I swear by St. Paul, that I will not dine until your head be brought me!" He struck the table with his hand: armed men rushed in at the signal; Hastings was seized, and instantly beheaded on a log of wood, which accidentally lay in the court-yard of the Tower¹⁸.

The protector then ordered lord Stanley, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and other counsellors of whom he was suspicious, to be committed to the Tower; and to carry on the farce of accusations, he commanded the goods of Jane Shore to be seized, and summoned her to answer before the council for sorcery and witchcraft. But as beauty was her only witchcraft, and conversation her most dangerous spell, no proofs were produced against her which could be received even in that ignorant age. Her persecution, however, did not end here. Though framed for virtue, she had proved unable to resist temptation, and left her husband, a goldsmith in Lombard-street, to live with Edward. But, while seduced from her fidelity by this gay and amorous monarch, she still made herself respectable by her remaining virtues. She never sold her influence. Her good offices, the genuine dictates of her heart, waited not the solicitation of presents or the hopes of reciprocal benefit; to protect the oppressed, and relieve the indigent, were her highest pleasures. Yet all her amiable qualities could not save her from the bitterness of shame, imposed upon her by a barbarous tyrant. Richard ordered her to be tried, in the spiritual court, for adultery. The charge was too notorious to be denied. She pleaded guilty, and was condemned to do public penance in a white sheet at St. Paul's, after walking bare-footed through the city. Her subsequent life was long and wretched. She experienced in old age and poverty the ingratitude of those courtiers whom she had raised into favour. Not one of the many whom she had obliged had the humanity to bring her consolation or relief. Her frailties as a woman, amid a court inured to the most atrocious crimes, were thought sufficient to justify all violations of friendship towards her, and all neglect of former obligations; and she was permitted to languish out her days in solitude and want¹⁹.

So many acts of violence, exercised against the relatives and friends of the late king, prognosticated the severest fate to his

¹⁸ Contin. Hist. Greyland.—Sir T. Moore's Hist. of Edward V.

¹⁹ Id. *ibid*.

defenceless children ; and, after the murder of Hastings, Richard no longer concealed his intention of usurping the crown. As a colour to his pretensions, he not only maintained, that his two nephews were illegitimate, but also his two brothers, Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence : that his mother had admitted different lovers into her bed, who were the fathers of these children ; that their resemblance to those gallants was a sufficient proof of their spurious birth ; and that he alone of all her sons, as appeared by his features, was the true offspring of the duke of York. The place chosen for promulgating this foul and impudent assertion was the pulpit, before a large congregation, and in Richard's presence. Dr. Shaw, a sycophant entirely at his devotion, was appointed to preach in St. Paul's cathedral; and having chosen for his text, from Scripture, " Bastard slips shall not thrive !" he enlarged on every circumstance that could discredit the birth of Edward IV., the duke of Clarence, and their children. He then broke out into a panegyric on the duke of Gloucester, exclaiming, " It is he who carries in his face, in "his soul, the image of virtue, and the marks of a true descent !" And it was expected, as soon as the doctor had pronounced these words, that the audience would cry out, " God save king Richard !"—a salutation which would immediately have been construed into a popular consent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation. But the audience kept a profound silence, and disappointed both the protector and his preacher²⁰.

Richard, however, had gone too far to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpose. Another place was chosen for a popular harrangue ; a place where a popular speaker never fails to persuade, and where a voice may be obtained for any measure, however atrocious or absurd. The citizens of London, with the rabble at their heels, were assembled at Guildhall, where the duke of Buckingham addressed them in an eloquent harangue, setting forth the title and virtues of the protector ; and " God " save king Richard !" was at last returned by the mob. The sentiments of the nation were now thought sufficiently declared. The voice of the people was the voice of God ! Richard was prevailed upon, though with seeming reluctance, to accept the crown ; but not before a party of the lords and commons had invited him to assume the sovereignty, on pretence of the illegality of his brother's marriage with Elizabeth, as a former wife (lady Eleanor Butler) was at that time living, and of the incapacity to which the attainder of the duke of Clarence subjected his children.

This farce was soon followed by a scene truly tragical—the

murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, to put his nephews to death : but that gentleman refused to bear any part in the infamous office. The usurper then sent for sir James Tyrrel, who promised obedience, and the government of the Tower was given him for one night. He chose three associates, whom he employed to execute his barbarous commission, and conducted them, about midnight, to the door of the chamber where the princes were sleeping. The ruffians smothered them with bolsters and pillows, and afterwards showed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the staircase, under a heap of stones²¹. These circumstances were confessed by the perpetrators in the following reign.

Richard, after these cruelties, endeavoured to gain by favours those who, he thought, could give stability to his throne. Several noblemen received new honours; and lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made steward of the household. But Richard's danger arose from a quarter where he least expected it. The duke of Buckingham did not think himself sufficiently rewarded for his services in promoting the usurpation ; he observed the general detestation of Richard ; and, by the advice of Morton, bishop of Ely, he turned his eye towards the young earl of Richmond, then resident in Bretagne, as the only person capable of freeing the nation from the tyranny under which it groaned.

Henry, earl of Richmond, was grandson of sir Owen Tudor and Catharine of France. By his mother he was descended from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and was the only remaining branch of that family which had so long contended for the crown. In order to strengthen his interest, a match was concerted between him and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. Money was sent over to him, for the purpose of le-

²¹ Sir T. More's *Hist.*—A bold attempt has been made by an ingenious but whimsical writer, to invalidate the particulars of this relation, and even to bring into question the fact it tends to establish. But in answer to the *Historic Doubts* of Mr. Walpole, it will be sufficient to reply, in the words of the profound and sagacious Hume, that, from the singular magnanimity, probity, and judgment, of Sir Thomas More, his narrative and evidence are beyond all exception ; that the testimony of no historian, either of ancient or modern times, can possibly have more weight ; that he may justly be esteemed a contemporary with regard to the murder of the two princes ; for although he was not five years of age when that event happened, he lived and was educated among the persons concerned in the principal transactions during the administration of Richard III. And it is plain from his narrative itself, which is often extremely circumstantial, that he had the particulars from eye-witnesses themselves. This authority, therefore, is irresistible, and “ *sufficient to overbalance a hundred little doubts, and scruples, and objections.*” (*Hist. of England*, vol. iii. note M.) All contemporary writers, both English and foreign, charge Richard, directly or indirectly, with the murder of his nephews. Comines openly accuses him of it (*Mem. liv. vi. chap. ix.*) and Fabian tells us that, as soon as Richard accepted the sovereignty, “ *King Edward V. and his brother, the duke of York, were put under surer keeping in the Tower, in such wise that they never after came abroad.*” (*Chron.* 225.) Comines supports his accusation with a strong circumstance. The court of France, he tells us, was so much struck with horror at Richard's treason and usurpation, that an audience was refused to his ambassador.

vying foreign troops ; and the queen dowager promised to join him, on his first appearance, with all the friends and partisans of her family.

But so extensive a conspiracy, though laid on the solid foundations of good sense and sound policy, could not escape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard. He soon received intelligence that his enemies, headed by the duke of Buckingham, were forming some design against him. The duke, unable to resist the force of Richard, was obliged to seek safety in retreat; he was discovered, condemned, and executed; and the other conspirators, who had taken arms in different parts of the kingdom, desisted from their attempts. The earl of Richmond appeared with an armament on the coast of England; but, hearing of the fate of Buckingham, and the dispersion of his friends, he quickly retired²⁴.

Richard, thus triumphant in every quarter, and fortified by an unsuccessful attempt to dethrone him, ventured at last to summon a parliament; a measure which his multiplied crimes, and flagrant usurpation, had hitherto A. D. 1484. induced him to decline. The parliament had no choice left but to recognise his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. His son Edward was created prince of Wales: and the king passed some popular laws, in order to reconcile the nation to his government.

Richard's other measures tended to the same object. His queen being now dead, he proposed, by means of a papal dispensation, to marry the princess Elizabeth, the true heiress of the crown. And, strange as it may sound in the ears of civilised persons, the queen-dowager neither scrupled to agree to this alliance, which was very unusual in England, and regarded as incestuous, nor felt any horror at the thought of marrying her daughter to the murderer of her sons and of her brother. But the earl of Richmond, alarmed at an alliance which might prove fatal to all his hopes, and encouraged by the English exiles, resolved upon a new invasion. All men of probity and honour, he was assured, were desirous of preventing the sceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithless hand which held it. In consequence of these representations, he set sail with about two thousand men, and A. D. 1485. landed at Milford Haven. The Welsh, who considered him as their countryman, flocked to his standard; and his cause immediately wore a favourable aspect.

Richard was alarmed on this occasion, but not intimidated,

though he must have been conscious of his great unpopularity. Scarcely any nobleman was sincerely attached to his cause, except the duke of Norfolk; and those who professed the greatest loyalty, secretly resolved to betray and abandon him. Among these was lord Stanley, who raised a numerous body of his friends and retainers in Cheshire and Lancashire, but without openly declaring himself, his son being in the tyrant's power. And although Henry had received private assurances of Stanley's friendly intentions, the troops on both sides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behaviour, when they met at Bosworth, in Leicestershire.

August 25. Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. This measure had a proportional effect upon both armies; it inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers; it threw those of Richard into dismay and confusion. The intrepid tyrant, now sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eye across the field; and, descriing his rival at no great distance, attempted to decide the victory by a blow. He killed with his own hand sir William Brandon, the earl's standard-bearer; and he was within reach of Henry himself, who declined not the combat, when sir William Stanley broke in between them, and surrounded Richard with his troops. Though overwhelmed by numbers, he still maintained the combat; and at last sunk amid heaps of slain²⁵.—A life so infamous, it has been said by Voltaire, and by Hume after him, did not merit so glorious a death: but every man surely merits what his talents enabled him to earn. Richard was a blood-thirsty tyrant; but he was brave, and he died as a brave man should, with his sword in his hand: he was brave to the last. It would indeed have been matter of regret had he died in his bed, after disturbing so cruelly the repose of his fellow creatures: but his death was sufficiently violent to prevent his life from becoming an object of imitation.

This battle was entirely decisive, the king not only being slain, but his whole army routed and dispersed. The victorious troops, in a transport of joy, bestowed on their general the appellation of king; and "Long live Henry the Seventh," resounded from all quarters, and was continued with repeated acclamations. Thus ended the race of the Plantagenets, who had filled the throne above three hundred and thirty years; and thus were the civil wars extinguished which had so long desolated the kingdom.

We must now return to the history of France.

LETTER LI.

Of the Affairs of France, from the Expulsion of the English by Charles VII. to the Invasion of Italy by Charles V III. in 1494.

WHILE England, my dear Philip, was convulsed by civil wars, France was increasing both in power and dominion. Most of the great fiefs were re-united to the crown : the authority of the prince was raised to such a height, as enabled him to maintain law and order ; a considerable military force was established, and the finances were able to support it. The means by which these changes were effected require your particular attention.

Charles VII. no sooner found himself in quiet possession of France, by the expulsion of the English, than he devoted himself to the cares of government : he endeavoured to repair the ravages of war by promoting the arts of ^{A. D. 1453.} peace, and to secure the tranquillity and good order of his kingdom by wise regulations. He established a regular army, instead of the troops required from the vassals of the crown, and levied a tax for its support. Besides this army, each village maintained a free archer, who was exempted from the king's tax ; and it was in consequence of this exemption, otherwise peculiar to the nobility, that such a number of persons soon claimed the title of gentlemen, both by name and arms.

These politic measures were followed by the most important consequences. A force always at command, gave vigour to the royal authority ; the possessors of fiefs being no longer called upon, had no longer any pretence for arming their followers, to disturb the peace of the state ; so the feudal polity rapidly declined in France, and Charles beheld himself at the head of the largest and best regulated kingdom in Europe.

But all the wisdom and generosity of this great monarch could not secure to him that happiness which he endeavoured to procure for his subjects. His son Louis revolted, and not only embittered his latter days with sorrow, but brought him to an untimely grave ; for, being informed that this prince intended to take him off by poison, he long abstained from ^{July 22, 1461.} all food, and literally died of hunger, that his unnatural son might not be guilty of parricide¹.

Louis XI. so much celebrated as a politician, and despised as a man, now succeeded to that crown, which he had traitorously

¹ Monstrelet.—Du Tillet.—Mezeray.

attempted to seize, in prejudice to the best of kings and fathers. His leading object was the aggrandisement of the monarchy, by depressing the power of the nobles, and re-uniting the great fiefs to the crown. And as he knew that men of honour and character would not be concerned in attempts upon the rights and property of others, he immediately dismissed the respectable ministers who had ably and faithfully served his father, and selected from the lower classes of the people, men of a disposition similar to his own—subtle, deceitful, unfeeling and cruel. But craft may sometimes overshoot its aim, especially when accompanied with rapacity. The nobles were alarmed; they entered into an association, and took arms to humble their oppressor. The king also took arms, and prepared to face them. A battle was fought, which decided nothing; and as Louis was more inclined to negotiate than to fight, a peace was concluded on terms advantageous to the rebels, but which the perfidious tyrant never intended to fulfil. He took into favour many of those whom he had formerly disgraced: he detached from the confederacy the dukes of Bourbon and Bretagne, and he prevailed upon an assembly of the states to annul those articles of the treaty which were most detrimental to his interest².

But although Louis thus artfully defeated a conspiracy that seemed to endanger his throne, his rapacity soon brought him into new troubles: he became the dupe of his own artifice, and had almost perished in his own snare. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, was succeeded in his extensive dominions by his son Charles the Bold. Charles had an antipathy against Louis; and, what more alarmed that arch-politician, knew him better than any man in Europe. Both parties assembled forces, and the fate of one was expected to be decided; when the king, who hated coming to extremities, agreed to pay the duke thirty-six thousand crowns to defray his military expenses, and appointed a personal interview at Peronne, in Picardy, then in the possession of Charles. The proposal was agreed to; and Louis went to the place of meeting accompanied only by a few domestics. By such an act of confidence he hoped to throw Charles off his guard, and take advantage, during the conferences, of that friendly temper which he had

2 By exerting all his power and address in influencing the election of the representatives, by bribing or over-awing the members, and by various changes which he artfully made in the form of their deliberations, Louis acquired such entire direction of the national assemblies, that, from being the vigilant guardians of the privileges and property of the people, he rendered them tamely subservient, in protecting the most odious measures of his reign. (Phil. de Comines.) He taught other modern princes the fatal art of becoming arbitrary, by corrupting the fountain of public liberty.

inspired ; and, to forward his negotiation, he even commanded some of his emissaries to enter Liege, and persuade the inhabitants to revolt from the duke. By these arts, he thought himself sure of concluding an advantageous treaty. He was disappointed, however in his aim. The duke indeed received him with exterior marks of friendship and respect, and seemed highly pleased at the confidence reposed in him by an adversary ; but when intelligence arrived that the people of Liege had broken out into open rebellion at the instigation of the French, and had cut the garrison in pieces, Charles, in the first transports of his rage, ordered the king to be shut up in the castle of Peronne, and made him thoroughly sensible, that he was a prisoner, at the mercy of his vassal.

In this predicament Louis had continued three days, when he again attempted to set his crooked policy at work by distributing large sums among the duke's officers. The anger of Charles subsiding, he was induced to enter into a negotiation with his prisoner, or rather to prescribe such terms as he thought proper, to a prince whose life and liberty were in his power. The most mortifying condition proposed by him was, that the king should march with him against Liege, and be active in the reduction of that place, which had revolted at his own request. Liege was reduced ; and Louis, having A. D. 1468. thus fulfilled the purpose of his vassal, was permitted to depart, before the duke set fire to the town³. This affair was treated with so much ridicule at Paris, that all the magpies and jays were taught to cry, " Peronne ! Peronne !" a circumstance that proved fatal to many of them ; for the king, after his return issued an edict for destroying all those talkative birds, as unnecessary remembrancers of his disgrace⁴.

The subsequent part of the reign of this monarch was one continued scene of executions, wars, and negotiations. He and his infamous ministers divided the possessions of those whom his tyrannies had caused to rebel : his ministers themselves conspired against him ; and the bishop of Verdun, and cardinal Balue, men as wicked as himself, suffered those tortures which they had invented for others. His brother Charles, who had been always a thorn in his side, was taken off by poison ; the constable de St. Paul, the count of Armagnac, the dukes of Alençon and Nemours, lost their heads on the scaffold⁵.

3 Phil. de Com. liv. ii. chap. vii.—xiv.

4 J. Troyes, Hist. Secrete de Louis XI.

5 At the execution of the last mentioned nobleman, the king ordered his two sons, yet infants, to be placed beneath the scaffold that their father's blood might fall on their heads.—*Mezeray*

With the ignominious but politic treaty by which Louis purchased the retreat of Edward IV., you are already acquainted. He was always engaged, either in war or negotiations, with his natural enemy the duke of Burgundy, till the death of that prince, who fell in an ambitious and unprovoked attempt upon the liberty of the Swiss. This was a fortunate event for Louis. As the duke's daughter Mary was the sole heiress to his extensive dominions, the king proposed a marriage between this princess and his son Charles, then only in his seventh year. In the mean time he seized Burgundy, as a male fief, and made himself master of many of the late duke's towns and fortresses by atrocious acts of treachery and cruelty⁶. This was one mode of territorial acquisition, but surely not the most likely to promote a treaty of marriage; the rapacity of this arch-politician, notwithstanding all his penetration, once more betrayed him. The princess was filled with disgust, and her Flemish subjects with detestation. By their advice, she married the archduke Maximilian⁷, son of the emperor Frederic III.; and hence arose new wars, which long desolated the Low Countries, and cherished an implacable animosity between the houses of France and Austria.

A. D. 1480. Louis, however, put a stop to hostilities by a truce; and though he could not boast of his success in arms, he retained Burgundy and some other provinces which he had seized. Anjou, Maine, Provence, and Bar, were soon after left to him by Charles count of Maine, the last prince of the house of Anjou, who died without issue. He united to the crown Roussillon and Cerdagne, under pretence of mortgage, and the county of Boulogne by purchase. Thus, amid all his crimes, and after all his struggles, and all his blunders, he sav-

⁶ Phil. de Com. liv. v.—Du Clos, Hist. de Louis XI.

⁷ There is reason, however, to believe, that the heiress of Burgundy was influenced in her choice, by other motives than those of policy; for we are informed by Philip de Comines, that, while her marriage with the dauphin was under deliberation, madame Hallouin, first lady of the bedchamber to the princess, gave it as her opinion "That there was more need of a man than a boy!" Admitting this to be the case, and the marriage with the dauphin impracticable, Louis might still have prevented the dominions of Burgundy from being conveyed to a rival power, by favouring the suit of the count of Angoulême, (a prince of the blood royal of France, and father of Francis I.) towards whom the princess Mary had indicated her good will. But the rapacious disposition and the intriguing spirit of the French monarch, which obscured his naturally clear and sound understanding, with his jealous dread of so highly exalting a subject, made him discourage that alliance, and pursue a line of insidious policy, which contributed, eventually, to raise up in the house of Austria a rival power that thwarted the measures, opposed the arms, and checked, during two centuries, the progress of the successors of a prince, who first united the interior force of France, and established it on such a footing as to render it formidable to the rest of Europe.

his kingdoms much enlarged, his subjects obedient, and his government firm. But he had only a glimpse of that agreeable prospect; for he was suddenly seized with a fit of apoplexy, which threw him into a lingering illness; and he expected death with all those horrors which a life of such complicated guilt deserved. It at last overtook him; but not before he had suffered more severe tortures than any criminal punished during his reign⁸. Aug. 30, 1483.

The character of Louis XI. is one of the most complicated in history. He obtained the end which he proposed by his policy, but at the expense of his peace and reputation. His life was a jumble of crimes and contradictions. Absolute without dignity; popular (because he humbled the great) without generosity; unjust by system, yet zealous for the administration of justice; living in open violation of the first principles of morals, but resigning himself to the most ridiculous superstition; the tyrant of his subjects, and the timid slave of his physicians; he debased the royalty at the same time that he strengthened it. Yet

⁸ Phil. de Com. liv. vi. chap. xii. Du Clos. The picture drawn by these two writers, of the last scene of this monarch's life, in contrast with his cruelties, is deeply shaded with horror. He put to death, we are told, more than four thousand persons, by different kinds of torture, and without any form of trial. He was frequently present at their execution, in beholding which he seemed to enjoy a barbarous satisfaction or triumph. Many of the nobility were, by his order, confined in iron cages, invented by the ministers of his tyranny, and carried about like wild beasts; while others were loaded with heavy and galling fetters, with a ring of a particular construction for the feet, called the *King's Nets*. In consequence of these barbarities, and a dread of future punishment, he became greatly afraid of death; and, during his illness, suspicious of every one around him, not excepting his own son, his daughter, and his son-in-law, the lord of Beaujeu, afterwards duke of Bourbon; though in the two last he reposed more confidence than in all the others. After often shifting his residence and his domestics, under pretence that nature delights in change, he took up his abode at the castle of Plessiz-les-Tours, which he ordered to be encompassed with large bars of iron, in the form of a grate, with four watch-towers of iron at the four corners of the building. The grates were without the wall, on the farther side of the ditch, and went to the bottom; spikes of iron, set as thick as possible, were fastened into the wall; and cross-bow men were placed in the ditches and in the watch-towers, to shoot at any man who dared to approach the castle till the opening of the gate. The gate was never opened, nor the draw-bridge let down, before eight in the morning, when the courtiers were permitted to enter. Through the day the captains were ordered to guard their several posts, with a main guard in the middle of the court, as in a town closely besieged. Nor was this all. Every secret of medicine, every allurement of sensuality, and every sacrifice of superstition, were exhausted in order to protract the tyrant's miserable existence, and set at a distance the ills he feared. The pope sent him the vest which St. Peter wore when he said mass; the sacred phial was brought from Rheims to re-anoint him; and he invited a holy hermit from Calabria, at whose feet he kneeled, and whose intercession with heaven he attempted to purchase, by building him two convents. The most beautiful country girls were procured to dance around him to the sound of music: he paid his physician, whom he feared, the enormous sum of ten thousand crowns a month; and the blood of infants is said to have been spilled with a view of softening the acrimony of his scorbutic humours.

this prince, who rendered religion contemptible, and royalty disgraceful, assumed the title of *Majesty* and *Most Christian*, since given to his successors, and formerly not claimed by the kings of France.

He was succeeded by his son Charles VIII., a young prince ill educated, rash, and incapable of application. By a law of Charles the Wise, the French kings were of age at the beginning of their fourteenth year. The new king had reached that age; but he was a minor by nature, long after he ceased to be so by law. Louis had wisely entrusted the government, during the youth of the king, to his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeu, a woman of great spirit and capacity. The administration, however, was disputed by the duke of Orléans, first prince of the blood (afterwards the celebrated Louis XII.) who, proving unsuccessful in his intrigues, betook himself to arms, and entered into a league with the duke of Bretagne and the archduke Maximilian. The Bretons were defeated in the battle of St. Aubin, and the duke of Orléans was taken prisoner⁹.
A. D. 1488.

The death of the Breton duke, which happened soon after this defeat, threw the affairs of the duchy into the utmost confusion, and seemed to threaten the state with final subjection. It was the only great fief which now remained disunited from the crown of France; and as the duke had died without male heirs, some antiquated claims to its dominion were revived by Charles VIII. But force is the best claim between princes; of that Charles was possessed; and the conquest of the territory seemed inevitable, unless some foreign power should strenuously interpose.

The prince to whom the distressed Bretons looked up for aid was Henry VII. of England, who was highly interested in preventing the reduction of their country, as well as bound by ties of gratitude to return that protection to the young duchess which had been generously yielded to him by her father. But the parsimonious temper of Henry, which disinclined him to warlike enterprises and expeditions, prevented him from sending them any effectual support. They therefore applied to Maximilian of Austria, now king of the Romans, (whose wife, Mary of Burgundy, had lately died), and offered him their duchess in marriage. The proposal was readily accepted; the nuptials were celebrated by proxy; and the duchess of Bretagne assumed the august title of queen of the Romans.
A. D. 1477.

⁹ Henault, tome i.—Could the duke of Orleans have flattered the passion of Anne of Beaujeu, he might, if we believe Brantôme, not only have escaped this misfortune, but have shared the administration.

But this honour was all she gained by her marriage ; for Maximilian, destitute of money and troops, and embarrassed by the continual revolts of the Flemings, was not able to send any succours to his consort. The French made considerable progress ; yet the conquest of the duchy seemed still so distant, and accompanied with so many difficulties, that the court of France changed its measures, and, by a master-stroke in policy, astonished all Europe.

Charles VIII. had been affianced to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian. Though too young for the nuptial union, she had been sent to Paris to be educated, and at this time bore the title of queen of France. Engagements so solemnly formed could not easily be set aside ; but the marriage of Charles with the duchess of Bretagne seemed necessary to re-annex that important fief to the crown ; and, as a yet stronger motive for such alliance, the union of Maximilian with this princess seemed destructive to the grandeur, and even to the security, of the French monarchy. It was at length concluded that all inconveniences would best be obviated by the dissolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated but not consummated, and the espousal of the duchess to the king of France.

The measures by which the French ministry carried this delicate scheme into execution were wise and politic. While they pressed Bretagne with all the violence of war, they secretly negotiated with persons of the greatest influence in the duchy, representing to them that the happiest event, which in their present situation could befall the Bretons, would be a peace with France, though purchased by a final subjection to that monarchy. These arguments had some weight with the barons ; but the grand difficulty was, how to obtain the consent of the duchess, who had fixed her affections on Maximilian. In order to subdue her obstinacy, the duke of Orleans was set at liberty ; and though formerly her suitor, and favoured with her smiles, he now zealously employed all his interest in favour of the king. By his advice, Charles advanced with a powerful army to Rennes, at that time the residence of the duchess. Finding herself without resource, she opened the gates of the city, and agreed to the proffered marriage ; which was soon after solemnised, and was justly considered as a most fortunate event¹⁰.

The success of Charles in this negotiation, was the most sensible mortification to the king of the Romans. He was deprived of a considerable territory which he thought he had acquired, and of an accomplished princess, whom he had espoused ; he was affronted in the person of his daughter Margaret, who was sent

¹⁰ Mezeray.—Henault.—Bacon's Hist. of Hen. VII.

back to him, after she had been treated, during seven years, as queen of France ; and he had reason to reproach himself with his own supine security, in neglecting the consummation of his marriage, which was easily practicable for him, and would have rendered the tie indissoluble. The king of England had also reason to accuse himself of misconduct, with regard to this important transaction; for, although the affair terminated in a manner which he could not precisely foresee, his negligence in leaving his most useful ally so long exposed to the invasion of a superior power, could not but appear, on reflection, the result of timid caution and narrow politics ; and, as Henry valued himself on his extensive foresight and sound judgment, the triumph obtained over him by such a youth as Charles, roused his indignation, and prompted him to seek vengeance, after all remedy for his miscarriage had become impracticable. He accordingly entered into a league with the king of the Romans, and Ferdinand of Spain, who had also interested himself in this affair : he

A. D. 1492. obtained liberal supplies from his parliament, and he landed in France with one of the largest and best-appointed armies that had ever been transported from England¹¹.

But Charles and his ministers found means to divert the impending storm, by dissolving the confederacy. They drew the

A. D. 1493. Spanish prince into a separate treaty, by restoring the counties of Rousillon and Cerdagne. As they knew that Henry's ruling passion was the love of money, he was bought off by the treaty of Estaples, which I shall have occasion to mention in the account of his reign ; and the forbearance of Maximilian was procured by the restitution of Artois and other provinces which he had ceded as the dowry of his daughter.

The king's motives for purchasing peace at so high a price were not those of indolence or timidity, but of ambition and youthful ardour. He had determined to vindicate his title to the kingdom of Naples, supposed to descend to him from the second house of Anjou, which ended in the count of Maine, who had bequeathed all his rights and possessions to the crown of France. This project had long engaged the mind of Charles ;

A. D. 1494. but, in order to carry it effectually into execution, it was necessary to be at peace with his neighbours ; and that being now secured, he set out for Italy with as little concern as if it had been a mere journey of pleasure.

But, before I speak of the success of that expedition, and the wars in which it involved Europe, several important events merit your notice ; particularly the reduction of Constantinople by the Turks, and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

LETTER LII.

Of the Progress of the Turks, and the Fall of the Greek Empire.

YOU have already seen, my dear Philip, the weakness of the empire of Constantinople at the time of the crusades : you have seen the imperial city sacked, and the government seized, by the champions of the cross. The Greeks recovered their empire from the Franks in 1261, but in a mangled and impoverished condition. It continued in the same weak state. The monastic passion seemed to have obscured the rays of common sense. Andronicus, son of Michael Palæologus, who had restored the Greek empire, allowed himself to be persuaded, that, as God was his protector, all military force was unnecessary ; and the superstitious Greeks, regardless of danger, employed themselves in disputing about the transfiguration of Jesus Christ, when they should have been studying the art of war, and training themselves to military discipline. One half of the empire pretended, that the light upon Mount Tabor had been from all eternity ; and the other half affirmed, that it was produced by God only for the purpose of the transfiguration.

In the mean time the Turks, whose force had been broken by the Mogul Tartars, were strengthening themselves near the sea of Marmora, and soon overran Thrace. Othman, from whom the present soltans are descended, and to whom the Ottoman empire owes its establishment, erected a principality in Asia Minor in the year 1300 ; and, having taken Prusa in Bithynia, near the close of his reign, he there fixed the early seat of the Turkish empire. His son Orkhan extended his territories at the expense of the Greeks, who were exposed to constant danger from the progress of the barbarian infidels. The emperor John Palæologus, after having in vain implored succours in Italy, and humbled himself at the feet of the pope, was obliged to conclude a shameful treaty with Amurath or Morad, the son of Orkhan, whose tributary he consented to become. The Turkish army had entered Europe, taken the city of Adrianople, and marched into the heart of Thrace, before the return of the emperor from Italy¹.

Morad first gave to the janisaries that form under which they at present subsist. In order to create a body of devoted troops that might serve as the immediate guards of his person and dignity, the soltan commanded his officers to seize annually, as the

1 Chalccond. Annal. Turc.

imperial property, the third part of the young males taken in war. After being instructed in the Mohammedan religion, inured to obedience by severe discipline, and trained to warlike exercise, these youths were formed into regular bands, distinguished by the name of *janisaries* (yenghi-sheri) or new soldiers. And as every sentiment which enthusiasm could inspire, and every mark of honour that the favour of the prince could confer, were employed to animate them with martial ardour, and fill them with a sense of their own pre-eminence, the janisaries soon became the chief strength and pride of the Ottoman armies. By their valour, Morad defeated, on the plains of Cassova, the united forces of the Walachians, Hungarians, Dalmatians, and Triballians, under the conduct of Lascaris, prince of Servia; but, walking carelessly over the field of victory, he
 A. D. 1389. was assassinated by a Christian soldier, who had concealed himself among the slain. He was succeeded by his son Bajazet or Ba-yezid, surnamed Ilderim, or the Thunderbolt, on account of the rapidity of his conquests².

The Greeks, though surrounded by such dangerous enemies, and though their empire was almost reduced to the boundaries of Constantinople, were not more united among themselves than formerly. Discord even reigned in the imperial family. John Palæologus had condemned his son Andronicus to lose his eyes: Andronicus revolted, and, by the assistance of the Genoese, who were masters of the commerce, and even part of the suburbs, of Constantinople, he threw his father and uncle into prison. The latter recovered his liberty, seized the throne, and built a citadel in order to obstruct the designs of the Turks; but the fierce and arbitrary Ba-yezid ordered him to demolish his works—and the works were demolished³!—What but destruction could be expected to befall a people, whose timidity induced them to overturn the very column of their security?

In the mean time, the progress of the Turks in Europe alarming the Christian princes, the flower of the French nobility took arms at the time when Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, had the chief sway in France, and followed the call of his son John the Fearless, count of Nevers. The main army, which consisted of about eighty thousand men of different nations, was commanded by Sigismund, king of Hungary, afterwards emperor of Germany. The Christians besieged Nicopolis, upon the Danube. Ba-yezid came to relieve it. He examined the disposition of his enemies: he tried their spirit by skirmishes, and found that they had courage but wanted con-
 A. D. 1396. duct: he drew them into an ambuscade, and gained a complete victory over them. He has been justly blamed for

massacring his prisoners; but it ought to be remembered that the French had shown him the example, by putting to death all the Turks whom they had seized before the battle⁴.

Constantinople was immediately threatened by the conqueror. But Manuel Palæologus purchased a seeming peace, by submitting to an annual tribute of six hundred pieces of gold; by obliging himself to build a mosque, and receive into the city a *cadi*, or judge, to decide the differences among the Mohammedans who had settled there on account of trade. Perceiving, however, a new storm arising, he withdrew, and went to several of the European courts, to seek assistance; but he could procure none. Few princes indeed were in a condition to defend him, almost all Christendom being involved in civil wars. The Turks, meanwhile, had laid siege to Constantinople, and its ruin seemed inevitable; when the fatal blow was diverted for a time, by one of those great events that fill the world with confusion.

The dominions of the Mogul Tartars, under Genghiz Khan and his immediate successors, extended (as we have had occasion to see) from the frontiers of Russia to India and China.—Timour, commonly called Tamerlane, one of the princes of those Tartars, and a descendant of Genghiz Khan by the female line, though born without dominions (in the ancient Sogdiana, at present the country of the Usbecs,) subdued almost as great an extent of territory as his victorious ancestor; and, in the sweep of his conquests, gave a blow to the empire of the Turks. He had subjected Great Tartary, Persia, India, and Syria, when the Greek emperor, and five Moslem princes whom the Soltan had stripped of their dominions, invited him into Asia Minor, as the only potentate able to deliver them from the tyranny of Ba-yezid.

Timour was pleased with the opportunity of extending his conquests and his renown: but, as he had still some respect for the laws of nations, he sent ambassadors to the Turkish despot, before he commenced hostilities; requiring him to raise the siege of Constantinople, and do justice to those princes whom he had deprived of their territories. The haughty soltan received these proposals with the highest rage and indignation. He relinquished his enterprise, and prepared to face his rival. Timour continued his march, denouncing vengeance. They met near Ancyra; and a great and terrible battle ensued. The dispute was long and obstinate; June 23, 1402. but fortune at length declared for Timour. Ba-yezid himself was taken prisoner, and had the affliction to see one of his sons fall by his side, and the mortification to find another the compa-

⁴ Cantemir, Hist. Oth. Emp.

nion of his chains. They were treated with great humanity by the victor, notwithstanding the vulgar story of the iron cage, in which the captive soltan is said to have been confined⁵.

The Tartarian conqueror now took Prusa, pillaged Nice, ravaged all the country as far as the Thracian Bosphorus, and took Smyrna by assault, after one of the most memorable sieges recorded in history. Every place either yielded to the terror of his name or the force of his arms. He soon, however, abandoned his acquisitions in Asia Minor, which he found it would be difficult to preserve against so brave a people as the Turks, and went to secure those conquests which were more likely to prove durable.

Manuel Palæologus, thinking the Turkish power entirely broken, destroyed the mosque in Constantinople, and retook several places in its neighbourhood. The civil wars which arose between the sons of Ba-yezid, after the death of the father, encouraged Manuel in his ill-founded security. But the Greeks were in time made sensible of their mistake. On the death of Mohammed I. (who had dethroned and put to death his brother Mousa) his son Morad II. invested A. D. 1421. Constantinople. He raised the siege, to quell the revolt of his brother Mustapha; he took Thessalonica, and returned to the imperial city, which was in greater danger than ever. The emperor Manuel had died in the habit of a monk; and his successor, John VII., threw himself into the arms of the Latins.—He hoped to procure assistance from the West, by uniting the Greek and Roman churches; but he only gained by this scheme the hatred of his subjects. They considered him, and the bishops of his train, who had assisted A. D. 1439. at the council of Florence, as no better than infidels. The bishops were obliged to retract their opinions; and John was much less zealous for the proposed union, when he found that it would not answer his purpose⁶.

The Turks, in the mean time, were happily diverted from Constantinople by their wars in Hungary; where Morad found an antagonist worthy of himself, in the celebrated John Huniades, vaivode of Transylvania, of whose exploits I have already taken notice. This great commander, having met with success over the soltan, had constrained him to sue for peace. Ladis-

⁵ Sherifedden. Hist. de Timur-Bec.—Cantemir, Hist. Oth. Emp.

⁶ *Ann. Sylv. Europ.*—Mosheim, Hist. Eccles. vol. iii.—Besides acknowledging that the Roman pontiff was the supreme judge, the true head of the universal church, the Greek emperor and his bishops were obliged to admit, that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father, and that departed souls are purified in the infernal regions, by a certain kind of fire, before their introduction to the presence, or participation of the vision of the deity.

laus, king of Poland and Hungary, accordingly concluded with him a solemn truce of ten years ; to which the one swore upon the Koran, the other upon the Gospels : and the soltan, weary of the toils of empire, resigned the sceptre to his son. But an atrocious perfidy, disgraceful to the Christian name, obliged him to resume it, to the confusion of his enemies.

The majority of the Ottoman troops, reposing on the faith of the treaty, which they religiously observed, had retired into Asia. This seemed a very favourable opportunity to attack their countrymen in Europe: and cardinal Julian Cesarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man of a violent and deceitful character, who had distinguished himself in a crusade against the Hussites, persuaded Ladislaus that the treaty with the Turks was not obligatory, as it had been concluded without the consent of his holiness; and that it not only might, but ought to be violated. The pope confirmed this opinion; ordered the truce to be broken, and released Ladislaus from his oath. He thus followed the established usage of the church of Rome, and acted in conformity with the maxim, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics," and consequently not with infidels: one of the most pernicious doctrines ever devised by superstition; a doctrine which not only contradicts the first principles of reason and conscience, but, which, if carried into practice, must destroy all moral and political order. It would authorise enemies to sport even with oaths; put an end to public faith; dissolve the links of society; and substitute robbery and bloodshed for the laws of nations and the ties of duty.

The arguments of the pope and his legate, however, prevailed. All the Polish and Hungarian chiefs, except the brave Huniades, suffered themselves to be carried away by the torrent; and Ladislaus, seduced by false hopes, and influenced by false principles, invaded the soltan's territories. The
A. D. 1444.
 Turks, enraged at such a breach of faith, breathed
Nov. 10.
 nothing but vengeance. The janisaries went in a body to urge Morad to quit his retreat, and put himself at their head, his son being yet young and inexperienced. He consented, and marched in quest of the Christian army, which he found encamped near Varna, in Moldavia. He had provided himself with a
 copy of the treaty which had been so solemnly sworn
 to, and so shamefully violated: he held it up in the height of the engagement, when he found the vigour of his troops beginning to slacken, appealing to God, as a witness of the perjury of the Christians, and beseeching him to avenge the insult offered to the laws of nations. Perjury for once received its just reward. The Christians were defeated with great slaughter, after an obstinate resistance. Ladislaus fell, with his sword in

his hand, covered with wounds : cardinal Julian sunk by his side; and ten thousand of his subjects, who guarded their monarch, covered with their dead bodies nearly the same ground on which they were drawn up⁷. Morad, thus victorious, resigned once more the rod of empire—what a rare example of philosophy in a Turk!—and was again induced to resume it.

The person who drew him a second time from his retreat was George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, the son of a prince of Albania or Epirus. This young hero had been delivered as a hostage on the subjection of his father's kingdom; had been educated in the Turkish court, and had risen into favour with Morad by his valour and talents. But he still cherished the idea of becoming one day the deliverer of his country : and an opportunity at last presented itself. He had been sent into Servia with a military force, when he heard of his father's death ; and as he understood that a secretary of the Ottoman court was to pass near his camp, he caused him to be loaded with chains, and compelled him to sign and put the soltan's signet to an order, requiring the governor of Croia, the capital of Albania, to deliver up to him the town and citadel. This false order had the desired effect. The place was given up, and Scanderbeg massacred the Turkish garrison. The Albanians crowded to his standard ; and he made so good an use of the mountainous situation of his country, as to defy all the efforts of the soltan's power⁸.

Morad was succeeded in his extensive dominions by his son Mohammed II., justly surnamed the Great, who had been formerly crowned, and obeyed as emperor, but had resigned to his parent the reins of government, on account of the exigencies of the times—an example of moderation no less extraordinary than the philosophy of the father in retiring from the honours of empire in the hour of victory, especially as the son was of a fiery and ambitious temper. The character of this prince has been very differently represented by historians. Voltaire is his professed panegyrist ; and in order to free him from the imputation of certain cruel and ferocious actions, has combated the most incontestable facts. Other writers have gone equal lengths to degrade him: he has been pronounced a rude and ignorant barbarian, as well as a scholar and a patron of the liberal arts. But they who would do justice to his character must trace it by other lineaments. He was both a scholar and a barbarian: he combined the knowledge of the one with the ferocity of the other. He was enlightened but not civilised. With some taste for the liberal arts, or at least some sense of the value of their productions, he entertained a general

⁷ Mat. Michov. lib. iv.—Fulstin, lib. xiv.—Cantemir. ⁸ Cantemir.—Sir Paul Ricaut.

contempt for their professors : the Turk always predominated. He was a warrior and a politician, in the most extensive meaning of the words : as such he was truly great : and whether we consider the conception of the execution of his enterprises, we shall find reason to admire the extent of his understanding and the vigour of his spirit. His first enterprise was against Constantinople, which had so long been the object of the ambition of his ancestors.

The Greek emperor, John VII., had been succeeded in 1445 by his son Constantine. This prince possessed courage, but little capacity. He took care, however, to strengthen the fortifications of his capital, as soon as he was apprised of the design of Mohammed; and he made many advances to the soltan, to induce him to lay aside his project ; but nothing could divert him from his purpose. If he sometimes seemed to listen to terms of accommodation, it was only that he might lull his enemies into security, while he carried on his military preparations with unremitted assiduity. At last, he cut off all communication with the city, both by sea and land, and laid siege to it in form. Though the garrison was but small, the walls were defended with great gallantry on the land side, the Greeks be- A. D. 1453. ing actuated by the courage of despair ; and the Turks were incapable of annoying them from the sea, by reason of large chains and booms which secured the mouth of the harbour. But nothing is impossible to human genius, when aided by the necessary force. In order to overcome this difficulty, the besiegers dug a passage of near two leagues over land, in the form of a ship's cradle, lined with planks ; and with the aid of engines, they drew up, in the space of one night, eighty galleys, and seventy vessels of smaller size, out of the water, upon these planks, and launched them all into the harbour⁹. What must have been the surprise of the besieged, in the morning, to behold a large fleet riding in their port, and yet all their booms secure !

The city was now assailed on all sides. Mohammed caused a bridge of boats to be built across the harbour, upon which he raised a battery of cannon. And here I cannot help remarking, that the artillery of the Greeks must have been very indifferent, or very ill served ; otherwise this bridge could never have been built. The cannon employed by the Turks are said to have been of an enormous size, some of them carrying balls of one hundred pounds weight. With these great guns they beat down the walls faster than the besieged could repair them : a body of janisaries entered the breach, with their prince at their head, while another broke in at a sally-port. Constantine, whose valour

⁹ Ducas.—Cantemir.

merited a more distinguished fate, was slain among the crowd, and his capital became a prey to the conqueror. For the honour of Mohammed II. I must observe, that few of the garrison were put to the sword. He arrested the fury of his troops, and granted conditions to the inhabitants, who had sent deputies to implore his clemency¹⁰. They were allowed to retain a magistrate for the decision of their civil differences, a patriarch, and the public exercise of their religion. These indulgences the Greeks still enjoy, under certain limitations.

Here I might remark, as has been remarked by graver historians, that Constantinople (built by the first Christian emperor, whose name it bears) submitted to the Turks under a Constantine, and Rome to the Barbarians under an Augustus!—but such an accidental coincidence of names and of circumstances is more worthy of the notice of a monkish chronologist than an observer of human nature.

Mohammed continued to push his conquests on all sides, and with unvaried fortune, till he received a check from A. D. 1456. John Huniades, who obliged him to raise the siege of Belgrade. The knights of Rhodes opposed him in their island with like success. But he subdued Albania, after the death of Scanderbeg; and Trebisond, where the family of Comnenus had preserved an image of the Greek empire. He carried his arms on the other side as far as Trieste; took Otranto, and fixed the Mohammedan power in the heart of Calabria¹¹. He threatened Venice, and Rome itself, with subjection; hoping to make himself master of Italy, as well as of Greece; and then the triumph of barbarism would have been complete. All Europe trembled at his motions; and not without cause; for Europe, unless united, must have sunk beneath his sword. But May 4, 1481. death freed Christendom from this terrible conqueror, at an age when he might have executed the greatest enterprises, being only in his fifty-second year. His descendants still possess the finest country in our quarter of the globe. Greece, where civil liberty was first known, and where arts and letters were first brought to perfection, continues to be the seat of ignorance, barbarism, and despotism.

10 Cantemir.—Ricaut.

11 Cantemir.—Ricaut.

LETTER LIII.

History of Spain, from the Death of Peter the Cruel, in 1369, to the Conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1492.

PETER the Cruel, my dear Philip, after being deserted by the Black Prince, on account of his perfidy, was subdued and slain, as you have already seen, by his illegitimate brother Henry, who succeeded to the throne A. D. 1369. of Castile. Nothing very remarkable occurred during the reign of this prince, or under his descendants, for almost a century. They were engaged in frequent wars with their neighbours, the kings of Portugal and Arragon. But these wars were seldom decisive; so that Spain continued in nearly the same situation, from the death of Peter till the reign of Henry IV. of Castile, whose debaucheries roused the resentment of his nobles, and produced a most singular insurrection, which led to the aggrandisement of the Spanish monarchy.

This prince, who was surnamed the Impotent, A. D. 1454. was totally enervated by his pleasures; and every thing in his court conspired to set the Castilians an example of the most depraved manners and most abandoned licentiousness. The queen, a daughter of Portugal, lived as openly with her parasites and her gallants as the king did with his minions and his mistresses. Pleasure was the only object, and effeminacy the only recommendation to favour. When the affairs of the state had at length fallen into the greatest disorder, the nobles, with the archbishop of Toledo at their head, formed a combination against the weak and flagitious government of Henry, and arrogated to themselves, as one of the privileges of their order, the right of trying and passing sentence on their sovereign, which they executed in a manner unprecedented in history.

The malcontent nobility met at Avila. A spacious theatre was erected in a plain near the town; June 5, 1465. an image, representing the king, was seated on the throne, clad in royal robes, with a crown on its head, a sceptre in its hand, and the sword of justice by its side. The accusation against Henry was read, and the sentence of deposition pronounced, in presence of a numerous assembly. At the close of the first article of the charge, the archbishop of Toledo advanced, and tore the crown from the head of the figure; at the close of the second, the condè de Placentia snatched the sword of justice from its side; at the close of the third, the condè de Benevente wrested the sceptre from its hand; and Lopez de

Zuniga, when the last article had been adduced, gave the image a blow which hurled it from the throne. At the same moment, Alphonso, Henry's brother, a boy of about twelve years of age, was proclaimed king of Castile and Leon¹.

This extraordinary proceeding was followed by all the horrors of civil war, which did not cease till some time after the death of the young prince, on whom the nobles had bestowed the kingdom. The archbishop and his party then continued to carry on war in the name of Isabella, the king's sister; and Henry could not extricate himself out of these troubles, nor remain quiet upon his throne, till he had signed one of the most humiliating treaties ever extorted from a sovereign. He acknowledged Isabella as the only lawful heiress of his kingdom, in prejudice to the rights of his reputed daughter Joan, whom the malcontents affirmed to be the offspring of an adulterous commerce between the queen and Bertrand de la Cueva². At such a price did this weak prince purchase from his subjects the empty title of king!

The grand object of the malcontent party now was the marriage of the infanta Isabella; upon which it was evident, the security of the crown and the happiness of the people must in a great measure depend. The alliance was sought by several princes. The king of Portugal offered her his hand; the king of France demanded her for his brother, and the king of Arragon for his son Ferdinand. The malcontents wisely preferred the Arragonian prince, and Isabella prudently made the same choice. Articles were drawn up; and the ceremony of marriage was privately performed by the archbishop of Toledo³.

Henry was enraged at this alliance, which he foresaw would utterly ruin his authority, by furnishing his rebellious subjects with the support of a powerful neighbouring prince. He disinherited his sister, and established the right of his daughter. A furious civil war desolated the kingdom: but peace was at length restored. Henry was reconciled to his sister and to Ferdinand, though it does not appear that he ever renewed Isabella's right to the succession; for he affirmed, in his last moments, that he believed Joan to be his own daughter. The queen swore to the same effect: and Henry left a testamentary deed, transmitting the crown to this princess, who was proclaimed queen of Castile, at Placentia. But the superior fortune, and superior arms of Ferdinand and Isabella prevailed: the king of Portugal was obliged to abandon his niece and in-

1 Mariana, lib. xxiii.—Diego Henriquez del Castillo.

2 Rod. Sanctii Hist. Hisp.—Chron. del Rey Don Henrig.

3 Zurit. Annal. Arrag.—Mariana ubi sup.

tended bride, after many ineffectual struggles and several years of war. Joan sunk into a convent, when she hoped to ascend a throne ; and the death of Ferdinand's A. D. 1479. father, which happened about this time, added the kingdoms of Arragon and Sicily to those of Leon and Castile⁴.

Ferdinand and Isabella were persons of great prudence, and, as sovereigns, highly worthy of imitation; but they do not seem to have merited all the praises bestowed upon them by the Spanish historians. They did not live like man and wife, having all things in common under the direction of the husband, but like two princes in close alliance. They neither loved nor hated each other ; were seldom in company together ; had each a separate council, and were frequently jealous of one another in the administration. But they were inseparably united in their common interests; always acting upon the same principles, and forwarding the same ends. Their first object was the regulation of their government, which the civil wars had thrown into extreme disorder. Rapine, outrage, and murder, had become so common, as not only to interrupt commerce, but in a great measure to suspend all intercourse between one place and another. These evils the joint sovereigns suppressed by their wise policy, at the same time that they extended the royal prerogative.

About the middle of the thirteenth century, the cities in the kingdom of Arragon, and, after their example, those in Castile, had formed themselves into an association, distinguished by the appellation of the *Santa Hermandad*, or the Holy Brotherhood. They exacted a certain contribution from each of the associated towns : they levied a considerable body of troops, in order to protect travellers, and pursue criminals : and they appointed judges, who opened courts in various parts of the kingdom. All who were guilty of murder, robbery, or any act that violated the public peace, and were seized by the troops of the Brotherhood, were carried before the judges, who, without paying any regard to the exclusive jurisdiction which the lord of the place might claim, who was generally the author or abettor of the injustice, tried and condemned the criminals. The nobles often murmured against this salutary institution ; they complained of it as an encroachment on one of their most valuable privileges, and endeavoured to procure its abolition. But Ferdinand and Isabella, sensible of the beneficial effects of the Brotherhood, not only in regard to the policy of their kingdoms, but in its tendency to abridge, and by degrees to annihilate, the territorial jurisdiction of the nobility, countenanced the institution upon every occasion, and supported it with the

⁴ Zurat. Annal. Arrag.—Marian. lib. xxiv.

whole force of royal authority. By these means the prompt and impartial administration of justice was restored, and with it tranquillity and order returned⁵.

But, while their *Catholic Majesties* (for such was the title conferred on them by the pope) were giving vigor to civil government, and securing their subjects from violence and oppression, an intemperate zeal led them to establish an ecclesiastical tribunal, equally contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and the mild spirit of the Gospel—I mean the court of inquisition; which decides upon the honour, fortune, and even life of the unhappy wretch who happens to fall under the suspicion of heresy, or a contempt of any thing prescribed by the church, without his being confronted with his accusers, or enjoying the privileges of defence or appeal. Six thousand persons are said to have been burned by order of this infamous tribunal, within four years after the appointment of Torquemada, the first inquisitor-general; and upwards of one hundred thousand felt its fury. The same zeal, however, which led to the depopulation, and the barbarising of Castile and Aragon, led also to their aggrandisement.

The kingdom of Granada now alone remained, of all the Mohammedan possessions in Spain. Princes equally zealous and ambitious, like Ferdinand and Isabella, were naturally disposed to turn their eyes on that fertile territory, and to think of increasing their dominions, by expelling the enemies of Christianity, and extending its doctrines. Every thing conspired to favour their project. The Moorish kingdom was a prey to civil wars, when Ferdinand, having obtained a papal bull authorising a crusade, put himself at the head of his troops, and entered Granada. He continued the war with rapid success. Isabella attended him in several expeditions; and they were both in great danger at the siege of Malaga, an important city, which was defended with great courage, and taken in 1487. Baza was reduced in 1489, after the loss of twenty thousand men by disease and the sword. Guadix and Almeria were delivered up by the Moorish king Al-Zagal, who had at first dethroned his brother Aboul-Hassan, and had afterwards been chased from his capital by his nephew Abou-Abdallah.—That prince, so blind or so base, as to confound the ruin of his country with the humiliation of his rival, engaged in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, after reducing every other place of eminence, undertook the siege of Granada. Abou-Abdallah made a gallant defence; but all communication with the country being cut off, and all hopes of relief at an end, he capit-

ulated, after a siege of eight months, on condition that he should enjoy the revenue of certain places ^{A. D. 1492.} in the fertile mountains of Alpujarras; that the inhabitants should retain the undisturbed possession of their houses, goods, and inheritances; the use of their laws, and the free exercise of their religion⁶.

Thus ended the empire of the Arabs in Spain, after it had continued above seven hundred and seventy-seven years. They introduced the arts and sciences into Europe, at a time when it was lost in darkness; they possessed many of the luxuries of life, when they were not even known among the neighbouring nations: and they seem to have given birth to that romantic gallantry which so eminently prevailed in the ages of chivalry, and which, blending itself with the veneration of the Gothic nations for the softer sex, still particularly distinguishes modern from ancient manners. But the Moors, notwithstanding these advantages, and the eulogies bestowed upon them by Voltaire and other writers, appear to have been always destitute of the essential qualities of a polished people—humanity, generosity, and mutual sympathy.

The conquest of Granada was followed by the expulsion, or rather the pillage and banishment of the Jews, who had engrossed the wealth and commerce of Spain. The inquisition exhausted its rage against these unhappy people, many of whom pretended to embrace Christianity, in order to preserve their property. About the same time, their catholic majesties concluded an alliance with the emperor Maximilian, and a treaty of marriage for their daughter Joan with his son Philip, archduke of Austria, and sovereign of the Netherlands. About this time also the contract was concluded with Christopher Columbus, for the discovery of *new* countries; and the territories of Roussillon and Cerdagne were agreed to be restored by Charles VIII. of France, before his expedition into Italy. But the consequences of these measures, and the interest which Ferdinand took in the Italian wars, must form the subject of future Letters.

I should now, my dear Philip, return to the great line of European history; but, for the sake of perspicuity, I shall first make you acquainted with the affairs of England under Henry VII., as his son Henry VIII. had a considerable share in the continental transactions, and derived his importance chiefly from the prudent policy of his father.

⁶ Cardonne, tome iii.—Fran. Bermud. de Padraza. Antiq. Excel. de Granad. Maricón liv. xxv

LETTER LIV.

View of the Reign of Henry VII.

HENRY VII., the first prince of the house of Tudor, ascended the throne of England in consequence of the victory at A. D. 1485. Bosworth, and the death of Richard III. His title was confirmed by the parliament: his merit was known; and his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV., united the jarring claims of the houses of York and Lancaster, and seemed to give great satisfaction to the public. He had therefore every reason to promise himself peace and security.

But Henry, although in many respects a prudent and politic prince, had unhappily imbibed a violent antipathy to the adherents of the house of York, which no time or experience could ever efface. Instead of embracing the present opportunity of abolishing party distinctions, by bestowing his smile indiscriminately on the friends of both families, he carried to the throne all the partialities that belong to the head of a faction. To exalt the Lancastrian party, and depress the retainers of the house of York, were still the favourite ideas of his mind. The house of York was generally beloved by the nation; and, for that very reason, it became every day more the object of Henry's hatred and aversion: hence his amiable consort was treated with contempt, his government grew unpopular, and his reign was filled with plots and insurrections.

The first insurrection was headed by the viscount Lovel, sir Humphry Stafford, and Thomas, his brother, who had all fought in the cause of Richard, and against whom, among many others, the parliament, at Henry's instigation, had passed an act of attainder; though it is not conceivable, how men could be guilty of treason for supporting the king in possession, against the earl of Richmond, to whom they had never sworn allegiance, and who had not then assumed even the title of king. Enraged at such an instance of severity, they left their sanctuary at Colchester, and flew to arms. The king sent the duke of Bedford against them with a chosen body of troops, and a promise of pardon to such as would return to their duty. Lovel, doubting the fidelity of his followers, privately withdrew, and fled to Flanders. His army submitted to the king's clemency. The two Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, near Abingdon; but, as it was found that this church had not the privilege of protecting rebels, they were

taken thence. The elder was executed at Tyburn, the younger obtained a pardon¹.

This rebellion was immediately followed by another of a more dangerous nature, as it took firmer hold of the public discontents. Henry's jealousy had confined in the Tower, Edward Earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence. This unhappy prince had been formerly imprisoned in Yorkshire by the tyranny of his uncle Richard. A comparison was drawn between Henry and that cruel usurper; and as the Tower was the place where Edward's children had been murdered, a fate not more gentle was feared for Warwick. While the compassion of the nation was thus turned towards youth and innocence, exposed to oppression, a report was spread that Warwick had made his escape. As a general joy communicated itself from face to face, and many seemed desirous of joining him, such an opportunity was not neglected by the enemies of Henry's government.

One Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, and a zealous partisan of the house of York, endeavoured to gratify the popular wish by holding up an impostor to the nation. For this purpose, he cast his eyes upon Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, who, being endowed with understanding beyond his years, and address above his condition, seemed well calculated to personate a prince of royal extraction. Simnel was taught to assume the name and character of the earl of Warwick; and he soon appeared so perfect in many private particulars relative to that unfortunate prince, to the court of king Edward, and the royal family, that the queen-dowager was supposed to have given him a lesson. But how apt soever father Simon might find his pupil, or whatever means he might take to procure him instruction, he was sensible that the imposture would not bear a close inspection; he therefore determined to make trial of it first in Ireland.

That island was zealously attached to the house of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of the duke of Clarence, who had resided there as lord lieutenant: and Henry had been so impolitic as to allow its government to remain in the same state in which he found it. All the officers appointed by his predecessor still retained their authority; so that Simnel no sooner presented himself to the earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claimed his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman believed his tale, and embraced his cause. Other persons of rank were no less sanguine in their zeal and belief: the story diffused itself among the people of inferior condition, naturally more violent and credulous, who listened to it

¹ Polyd. Virg. Hist. Angl. lib. xxvi.—Bacon's Hist. of Hen. VII.

with still greater ardour: the pretended prince was lodged in the castle of Dublin, crowned with a diadem taken from a statue of the blessed Virgin, and publicly proclaimed king, under the appellation of Edward VI.

The king was seriously alarmed, when he received intelligence of this revolt. Though determined always to face his enemies, he scrupled at present to leave England, where he suspected the conspiracy had been framed, and where he knew many persons of all ranks were disposed to give it countenance. After frequent consultations with his ministers, he ordered the queen-dowager to be apprehended, and confined in the nunnery of Bermondsey for life. He then caused the earl of Warwick to be taken from the Tower, led in procession through the streets of London, and exposed in St. Paul's church to public view. This expedient had its full effect in England; but in Ireland the people persisted in their revolt: and Henry had reason to think that the attempt to disturb his government was not laid on such slight foundations as the means employed seemed to indicate.

John earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, by Elizabeth, eldest sister of Edward IV., was engaged to take part in the conspiracy. This nobleman, alarmed at the king's jealousy of all eminent persons of the York party, and more especially at his rigour towards Warwick, had retired into Flanders, where lord Lovel had arrived before him. He resided some time in the court of his aunt Margaret, duchess-dowager of Burgundy, who, enraged against the oppressor of her family, hired two thousand German veterans, under Martin Schwartz, and sent them over, with these noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland.

The courage of the Irish was so elevated by this accession of military force, and the countenance of persons of such high rank, that they formed the bold resolution of invading England, where they believed the spirit of disaffection to be no less prevalent than in Ireland. They accordingly landed in Lancashire, and were joined by sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great interest in that county; but the people in general, unwilling to associate with Irish and German invaders, convinced of Simnel's imposture, and kept in awe by the king's reputation in arms, either remained inactive or gave assistance to the royal army, which was advancing against the enemy. The earl of Lincoln now found it necessary to bring the contest to a speedy decision; and Henry, emboldened by his native courage no less than by the superiority of his numbers, intrepidly hastened to the combat. The two armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, where, after an obstinate battle, the royalists fully prevailed. Lincoln, Broughton, and Schwartz, perished in

June 16.

the field, with four thousand of their followers. Lovel is supposed to have undergone the same fate, as he was never more heard of. Simnel and his tutor were taken prisoners. Simon was committed to close custody for life; and his sacred character only could have saved him from a more severe fate. Simnel was too contemptible either to excite apprehension or resentment in Henry: he was therefore pardoned, and employed as a scullion, from which condition he was afterwards advanced to the rank of one of his majesty's falconers².

Henry having thus restored tranquillity to his kingdom, and security to his government, had leisure not only to regulate his domestic affairs, but also to look abroad. From Scotland, the most contiguous state, he had nothing to fear. There reigned James III., a prince of little industry and narrow genius. With him Henry concluded a treaty, when he might have demanded his crown: so truly pacific was the disposition of this monarch! Of the continental governments I have already spoken. They were hastening to that situation in which they remained, without any very material alteration, nearly for three centuries. The balance of power began to be understood. Spain had rendered herself formidable by the union of the crowns of Arragon and Castile, in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella; and these princes were employed in wresting Granada from the Moors. France, during the last fifty years, had greatly increased in power and dominion; and she was now attempting to swallow up Bretagne. England alone was both enabled by her power, and engaged by her interests, to support the independence of that duchy: the most dangerous opposition was therefore expected from this quarter. But Henry's parsimonious temper and narrow politics, as I have had occasion to mention in the history of France, prevented him from affording any effectual support to the Bretons; and, as Maximilian, to whom they afterwards applied, was unable to protect them, they were obliged to submit to the arms of Charles VIII. who prudently married the heiress of the duchy in order to conciliate their affections.

Henry, who saw the importance of Bretagne to France, was mortified and incensed at his disappointment, and talked loudly of vengeance. The conquest of France, in his language, was an easy matter: and he set out on that enterprise at the head of a splendid army. The nobility, who A. D. 1492. had credulously swallowed his idle boasts, were seized with a thirst of military glory; they fondly hoped to carry their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris, and put the crown of France on the head of their sovereign. Henry, in the mean time, had nothing less at heart than war; the gratification of his ruling

passion was the only purpose of this great armament—avarice being in him a more powerful motive than either revenge or glory. Secret advances had been made toward peace, before his invasion, and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. His demands were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable possession of Bretagne an equivalent for any sum, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the proposals of the invader. He engaged, by the treaty of Estaples, concluded about Nov 3. a month after the English landed in France, to pay Henry seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns; partly as a reimbursement of the sums advanced to the duchess of Bretagne, partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward IV.; and he stipulated a yearly pension, to Henry and his heirs, of twenty-five thousand crowns³.

Thus, as lord Bacon observes, the English monarch made profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace. But although the treaty of Estaples contributed to fill the coffers of Henry, it did very little honour to England; as it put a shameful seal to the subjection of Bretagne, which, properly supported, would have been a continual thorn in the side of France, and might have prevented that monarchy from ever becoming formidable to the liberties of Europe. The people however agreed, that the king had fulfilled the promise which he made to the parliament, when he said that he would make the war maintain itself; and all ranks of men seemed now to be satisfied with his government. He therefore flattered himself with the hope of durable peace and tranquillity. His authority was fully established at home, and his reputation for policy was great abroad: the hopes of all pretenders to the throne were cut off, as well by his marriage as by the issue which it had brought him: yet, at this height of his prosperity, his indefatigable enemies raised against him an adversary, who long gave him inquietude, and sometimes even brought him into danger.

The old duchess of Burgundy, not discouraged by the ill success of the former conspiracy, resolved to play off another impostor upon Henry. With that view she caused a report to be propagated, that her nephew, Richard duke of York, had made his escape from the Tower, when his elder brother was murdered, and that he was still alive. This rumour being greedily received, her next care was to provide a young man proper to personate the unfortunate prince; and for that purpose she fixed upon Perkin Warbeck, the son of an obscure Fleming. The youth was born in England, and, by some, believed to be the son

3 Polyd. Virg.—Bacon's Hist.

of Edward IV. on account of the resemblance observable between him and that amorous monarch. A few years after his birth, he was taken by his real father to Tournay ; where he did not long remain, but, by different accidents, was carried from place to place ; so that his parentage and past life became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the most diligent inquiry. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural versatility and sagacity of his genius ; and he seemed to be well qualified to assume any character. In this light he had been represented to Edward's intriguing sister, who immediately desired to see him, and found that he exceeded her most sanguine expectations ; so comely did he appear in his person, so graceful in his air, so courtly in his address, so full of dignity in his whole demeanour, and good sense in his conversation !

A young man of such quick apprehension soon imbibed the necessary instructions for personating the duke of York ; but, as some time was required, before every thing requisite could be prepared for this enterprise, Margaret sent him into Portugal, where he remained a year in obscurity. He then repaired to Ireland, and, assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, found many partisans among the ignorant and credulous inhabitants. The news of this phenomenon reached France ; and Charles VIII., prompted by the secret solicitations of the duchess of Burgundy, sent Perkin an invitation to visit him at Paris. The impostor repaired to the court of France, where he was received with all the marks of respect due to the duke of York. The whole kingdom was full of the accomplishments, as well as the singular adventures and misfortunes of the young Plantagenet. From France, the tide of admiration and credulity diffused itself into England ; and sir George Nevil, sir John Taylor, and many other gentlemen, went over to Paris, to offer their services to the supposed duke of York, and to share his fortunes⁴.

Perkin, however, was dismissed from France, in consequence of the peace of Estaples. He now retired to the duchess of Burgundy, craving her protection, and offering to exhibit before her all the proofs of that birth to which he laid claim. Margaret affected ignorance of his pretensions, and publicly desired to learn his reasons for assuming the name which he bore. She put many particular questions to him, A. D. 1493. seemed astonished at his answers, and at last burst into joy and admiration of his wonderful deliverance, embracing him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor to the English throne. She assigned him an equipage suitable to his pretended birth, appointed him a guard, engaged every one to pay court to him,

⁴ Bacon's Hist.

and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of *The White Rose of England*.

The Flemings, swayed by Margaret's authority, readily adopted the fiction of Perkin's royal descent; and, in England, not only the populace, ever fond of novelty and desirous of change, but men of the highest birth and quality, disgusted at the severity of Henry's government, began to turn their eyes toward this new claimant. Their passions and prejudices inclined them to give credit to Perkin's pretensions: a regular conspiracy was formed against the king's authority, and a correspondence settled between the Flemish and English malcontents⁵.

Henry proceeded resolutely, though deliberately, in counter-working the designs of his enemies. His first object was, to ascertain the death of the real duke of York, which he was in a great measure able to do, two of the persons concerned in the murder being yet alive, and agreeing in the same story. But he found it more difficult to discover who the extraordinary person was that so boldly advanced pretensions to his crown. For this purpose, he dispersed his spies over all Flanders and England: he engaged many to pretend that they had embraced Perkin's party: he bribed the young man's servants, and even his confessor. By these means he at length traced the whole plan of the conspiracy, and the pedigree, adventures, life, and conversation, of the pretended duke of York.

The impostor's story was immediately published, for the satisfaction of the nation; and as soon as Henry's projects were matured, he made the conspirators feel the weight of his resentment. Lord Fitzwalter and sir Simon Montfort were arrested, convicted of treason for promising to aid Perkin, and quickly beheaded. Sir William Stanley, the high chamberlain, was also apprehended; but great and more solemn preparations were thought necessary for the trial of a man whose authority in the nation, and whose domestic intimacy with the king, as well as his former services, seemed to secure him against any accusation or punishment. Henry, however, was determined to take vengeance on all his enemies. He therefore persuaded sir Robert Clifford, who had learned the youth's secrets, to accuse Stanley of abetting the schemes of the conspirators; and, after the lapse of six weeks (a delay which was interposed in order to show the king's lenity and coolness), the chamberlain was brought to his trial, condemned, and put to death⁶.

The fate of Stanley made great impression on the minds of the people, and struck Perkin's adherents with the deepest dismay,

⁵ Polyd. Virg.—Bacon's Hist.

⁶ Ib. *ibid*.

as they found that all their secrets were betrayed. The jealous and severe temper of the king kept men in awe, and quelled not only the movements of sedition, but the very murmurs of faction. A general distrust took place : all mutual confidence was destroyed, even among particular friends. Henry, not very eager to dispel those terrors, or gain the affections of the nation, continued to indulge his rapacious temper, and employed the arts of perverted law and justice, in order to extort fines and compositions from his subjects. His government was in itself highly oppressive ; but it was so much the less burthensome, as he took care, like Louis XI., to restrain the tyranny of the nobles, and permitted nobody to be guilty of injustice or oppression but himself.

Perkin, finding his correspondence with the nobility cut off by Henry's vigilance and severity, and the king's authority daily gaining ground among the people, resolved to attempt something which might revive the drooping hopes of his party. With this view, he collected a band of outlaws and pirates, put to sea, and appeared off the coast of Kent ; but, as the inhabitants were hostile to his cause, he returned to Flanders, and afterwards made a descent upon Ireland. The affairs of that country, however, were now in so good a posture, that he there met with little success ; and being weary of skulking among the wild natives, he bent his course towards Scotland, and presented himself to James IV., who then reigned in that kingdom. Perkin had been recommended to this prince by the king of France ; and James, pleased with the address of the youth, gave him the hand of lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, a young lady eminent both for beauty and virtue.

The jealousy which then subsisted between the courts of England and Scotland was a new recommendation to Perkin ; so that James, who had resolved to make an inroad into England, took the impostor with him in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might raise an insurrection in the northern counties. But in this expectation he was disappointed ; and, after repeated incursions, he found it expedient to conclude a truce with Henry, Perkin being privately ordered to quit the kingdom⁷.

Ireland once more afforded a retreat to the impostor ; but, after a short concealment, he resolved to try the affections of the Cornish malcontents, who had lately risen in rebellion on account of an oppressive tax, and whose mutinous disposition still subsisted, notwithstanding the lenity that had been shown to them. As soon as he appeared at Bodmin he was joined by three thousand men ; and, elate with this appearance of suc-

⁷ Bacon's Hist.—Polyd. Virg.

cess, assumed for the first time the appellation of Richard IV., king of England. That the expectation of his followers might not be suffered to languish, he presented himself before Exeter: and, as the inhabitants shut their gates against him, he laid siege to the place.

Henry was happy to hear that the impostor was in England, and prepared with alacrity to attack him; for, as he usually said, he desired only to see his enemies. The intimidated youth immediately raised the siege of Exeter; and although his followers now amounted to the number of seven thousand, and seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and retired to the sanctuary of Beaulieu. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mercy, and found that it was not yet exhausted in their behalf: a few of their chiefs excepted, they were dismissed with impunity. Henry was more at a loss how to proceed with regard to Perkin himself. Some advised him to make the privileges of the church yield to reasons of state; to drag the impostor from the sanctuary, and inflict on him the punishment due to his temerity. But Henry did not think the evil so dangerous as to require such a violent remedy. He therefore employed some sagacious persons to persuade A. D. 1498. Perkin to deliver himself into the king's hands, under promise of pardon. He did so, and Henry conducted him, in a kind of mock triumph, to London.

Although the impostor's life was granted him, he was detained in custody. He escaped from his keepers, but, being retaken, was confined in the tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprise followed him. He opened a correspondence with the earl of Warwick, and engaged that unfortunate A. D. 1499. prince to embrace a project for his escape, which Perkin offered to conduct, by murdering the lieutenant of the Tower. The conspiracy did not escape the king's vigilance; and Perkin, having thus rendered himself unworthy of mercy, was arraigned, condemned and hanged at Tyburn. The earl also was brought to trial and beheaded^s.

This violent act of tyranny, by which Henry destroyed the last prince of the male line of Plantagenet, produced great discontent among the people. They saw, with concern, an unhappy prince, to whom the privileges of his birth had long been denied, and who had even been cut off from the common benefits of nature, now deprived of life itself, merely for attempting to shake off that oppression under which he laboured. But these domestic discontents did not weaken the king's government; and foreign princes, deeming his throne now perfectly secure, paid him greater deference and attention.

The prince whose alliance Henry valued most was Ferdinand of Spain, whose vigorous and steady policy, always attended with success, had rendered him in many respects the most considerable monarch in Europe. And the king of England had at last the satisfaction of completing a marriage, A. D. 1501. which had been projected and negotiated during the course of seven years, between Arthur prince of Wales, and Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Arthur dying in a few months after the celebration of the nuptials, A. D. 1502. the king, desirous of continuing his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catharine's dowry, obliged his second son Henry to be betrothed to the Infanta. The prince made all the opposition of which a youth under twelve years of age could be supposed capable; but, as his father persisted in his resolution, the marriage was concluded between the parties. A. D. 1508. It was productive of the most important consequences.

Another marriage was celebrated in the same year, which in the next century gave birth to great events—the union of Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, with James IV. of Scotland. When this alliance was discussed in the English council, some objected that England might, in consequence of such marriage, fall under the dominion of Scotland. “No!” replied Henry, “though Scotland should give an heir to the English crown, that kingdom will only become an accession to England:” and the event proved the justice of the observation.

The situation of Henry's affairs was now in every respect fortunate; and, uncontrolled by apprehension or opposition, he was at liberty to give full scope to his avarice, which, being increased by age, and encouraged by absolute authority, broke through all restraints of shame or justice. He found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and to prey upon his defenceless people. These instruments of oppression, by their knowledge of law, were enabled to pervert the forms of justice to the oppression of the innocent; and he supported them in all their iniquities¹⁰.

But, while Henry was enriching himself with the spoils of his oppressed people, he did not neglect the political interests of the nation. Philip, archduke of Austria, and his wife Joan, heiress of Castile, being thrown upon the English coast, on their passage to Spain, Henry entertained them with a magnificence suitable to his dignity, and at an expense A. D. 1506. by no means agreeable to his temper. But, notwithstanding so much seeming cordiality, interest in this, as in all other things,

was the chief rule of his conduct. He resolved to draw some advantage from the involuntary visit paid him by his royal guests : and while he seemed only intent on displaying his hospitality, and furnishing the means of amusement, he concluded a treaty of commerce highly beneficial to England¹¹.

Henry's views did not terminate here : from the interests of the nation he turned them to his own. Edmund, earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV., being an object of royal jealousy, had retired to Flanders in disgust. The king did not neglect the present opportunity of complaining to the archduke of the reception which Suffolk had met with in his dominions. "I really thought," replied Philip, "that your greatness and felicity had set you far above apprehensions from any person of so little consequence : but, to give you satisfaction, I will banish him from my territories."—"I expect that you will carry your complaisance further," said Henry : "I desire to have Suffolk put into my hands, where alone I can depend on his submission and obedience."—"That measure," observed Philip, "will reflect dishonour upon you as well as myself. You will be thought to have used me as a prisoner." "Then," replied Henry, "the matter is settled : I will take that dishonour upon myself, and your honour will then be safe." Philip found himself under the necessity of complying : but he first exacted a promise from Henry, that he would spare the earl's life¹².

Henry survived these transactions about three years ; but nothing memorable occurred in the remaining part of his reign. His declining health made him turn his thoughts towards that future state of existence which the severities of his government had rendered a very dismal prospect to him. In order to allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured to procure a reconciliation with Heaven by distributing alms and founding religious houses. Remorse even seized him at times for the abuse of his authority by Empson and Dudley, though not to such a degree as to induce him to stop the rapacious hands of those oppressors, until death, by its nearer approaches, appalled him with new terrors ; and then he ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured¹³. He died of a consumption at his favourite palace of Richmond, in the fifty-third year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was a prince of great talents, both civil and military. He put an end to the civil wars with which the English nation had long been harassed ; maintained the most perfect order in the state ; repressed the exorbitant power of the barons ; and indirectly increased the consequence of the commons, by enabling the no-

11 Rymer, vol. xiii.

12 Bacon's Hist.

13 Holinshed.—Polyd. Virg.

bility to break their ancient entails, as the prodigal were thereby encouraged to dissipate their fortunes and dismember their estates, which were thus transferred to men who had acquired money by trade or industry. And while he possessed the friendship of some foreign princes, he commanded the respect of all. Hence his son, as we shall afterward have occasion to see, became the arbiter of Europe. In the mean time we must take a view of transactions in which England had no share, and which introduced the most important æra in the history of modern Europe.

LETTER LV.

A general View of the Continent of Europe, from the Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. to the League of Cambray, in 1508.

I HAVE hitherto, my dear Philip, generally given you a separate history of the principal European states, because each state depended chiefly on itself, and was in a great measure distinct from every other in its political interests. But that method will, in future, often be impracticable, by reason of the new system of policy which was adopted about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in consequence of which an union of interests became necessary in order to form a balance of power. This system took its rise from the political state of Europe at that time, and was perfected by the Italian wars, A. D. 1494. which commenced with the expedition of Charles VIII. in support of his claim to the kingdom of Naples.

The army with which Charles undertook this great enterprise did not exceed twenty thousand men: yet with these he was able to overrun all Italy. The Italians, who, amid continual wars, had become every day more unwarlike, were astonished to meet an enemy that made the field of battle not a pompous tournament but a scene of blood: they were terrified at the aspect of real war, and shrunk on its approach. The impetuosity of the French valour appeared to them irresistible. Pope Alexander VI., of infamous memory, the Venetians, and Ludovico Sforza (surnamed the Moor) duke of Milan, alarmed at the king's progress, which was equally unwished and unexpected, endeavoured to throw obstacles in his way almost as soon as he crossed the Alps.

All opposition, however, was fruitless. Charles entered in triumph the city of Florence, where the family of Medicis still

held the chief authority. He delivered Sienna and Pisa from the Tuscan yoke : he prescribed such terms to the Florentines as their situation obliged them to accept: he marched to Rome, where Alexander had ineffectively intrigued against him; and he took possession of that city as a conqueror. The pope had taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo : but no sooner did he see the French cannon pointed against its feeble ramparts, than he offered to capitulate; and it cost him only a cardinal's hat to make his peace with the king. The president Brissonet, who from a lawyer had become an archbishop, persuaded Charles to this accommodation. In reward for his services, he obtained the purple¹. The king's confessor was likewise in the secret; and Charles, whose interest it was to have deposed the pope, forgave him, and afterwards repented of his lenity.

No pontiff surely ever more deserved the indignation of a Christian prince. He and the Venetians had applied to the Turkish emperor, Ba-yezid II. son and successor of Mohammed II., to assist them in driving the French monarch out of Italy. It is also asserted, that the pope had sent one Bozzo in quality of nuncio to the court of Constantinople, and that the alliance between his holiness and the soltan was purchased by one of those inhuman crimes which are not committed without horror even within the walls of the seraglio.

Alexander, by an extraordinary chain of events, had at that time in his possession the person of Zizim, brother to the Turkish potentate.

This prince, who was adored by the Turks, had disputed the empire with Ba-yezid, and was defeated. Fortune prevailed over the prayers of the people; and this unhappy son of Mohammed II., the terror of the Christian name, had recourse in his distress to the knights of Rhodes. They at first received him as a prince to whom they were bound to afford protection by the laws of hospitality, and who might one day be of use to them in their wars against the infidels; but they soon after treated him as a prisoner, and the soltan agreed to pay them forty thousand sequins annually, on condition that they should not suffer Zizim to return into Turkey. The knights conveyed him to one of their commanders at Poictou in France; and Charles VIII. received, at the same time, an ambassador from Ba-yezid and a nuncio from pope Innocent VIII., Alexander's predecessor, relative to this valuable captive. The soltan claimed him as his subject, and the pope desired to have possession of his person, as a pledge for the safety of Italy against the attempts of the Turks. Charles sent him to the pope. The pontiff received him with all the splendour and magnificence which the sovereign of Rome

¹ G. Flor. de Bel. Ital.—Phil. de Com. liv. vii. chap. xii.

could show to the brother of the sovereign of Constantinople ; and Paul Jovius says, that Alexander sold Zizim's life in a treaty which he negociated with Ba-yezid. Be that as it may, the king of France, full of his vast projects, and certain of the conquest of Naples, now wished to become formidable to the soltan, by having the person of this unfortunate prince in his power. The pope delivered him to Charles, but poisoned, as is supposed. It is at least certain that he ^{A.D. 1495.} died soon after ; and the character of Alexander renders it probable, that 300,000 ducats, said to have been offered by Ba-yezid, were esteemed an equivalent for such a crime².

Matters being thus settled between the king and the pope, who took an oath not to disturb Charles in his conquests, Alexander was set at liberty, and appeared again as pontiff on the Vatican theatre. There, in a public consistory, the French monarch came to pay him what is called the homage of obedience, assisted by John Gannai, first president of the parliament of Paris, who might certainly have been better employed elsewhere than at such a ceremony. Charles now kissed the feet of the person, whom, two days before, he would have condemned as a criminal ; and to complete the ludicrous scene, he served his holiness at high mass³.

Charlemagne, as we have seen, caused himself to be declared emperor of the West at Rome : Charles VIII. was, in the same city, declared emperor of the East ; but after a very different manner. One Palæologus, nephew to the prince who lost Constantinople and his life, made an empty cession, in favour of Charles and his successors, of an empire which could not be recovered⁴.

After this ceremony, Charles continued his progress towards Naples ; where Alphonso II., filled with terror at his approach, gave the world an example of a new kind of cowardice and pusillanimity. He fled privately to Sicily, and took refuge in a cloister ; while Ferdinand his son, who became king by his abdication, finding himself unable to retrieve the public affairs, released his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and retired to the island of Ischia. Charles, thus left master of his favorite object, the kingdom of Naples, after having marched thither from the bottom of the Alps with as much rapidity, and almost as little opposition, as if he had been on a progress through his own dominions, took quiet possession of the throne, and intimidated, or gave law to, every power in Italy⁵.

Such, my dear Philip, was the result of this expedition, which

² Phil. de Comin.—Paul. Jov.—Arn. Feron.

³ G. Flor—Guicciardiani.

⁴ Phil. de Comin.

⁵ And. de la Vig. Conq. de Nap.—Phil. de Comin.

must be considered as the first great exertion of those new powers which the princes of Europe had acquired, and now began to exercise. Its effects were no less considerable than its success had been astonishing. The Italians, unable to resist the force of Charles, permitted him to proceed undisturbed. But they quickly perceived, that although no single power which they could rouse to action was a match for such an enemy, yet a confederacy might accomplish what the separate members durst not attempt. To this expedient, therefore, they had recourse—the only one that remained, to deliver or preserve them from the French yoke; and while Charles inconsiderately wasted his time at Naples, in festivals and triumphs on account of his past successes, or was fondly dreaming of future conquests in the East, to the empire of which he now aspired, they formed against him a powerful combination of almost all the Italian princes and states; the heads of which were the pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, supported by the emperor Maximilian (who had lately succeeded his father, Frederic III.) and by their catholic majesties⁶.

The union of so many powers, who suspended or forgot their particular animosities that they might act with concert against an enemy who had become formidable to them all, awakened Charles from his thoughtless security; and he saw no prospect of safety but in returning to France. The confederates had assembled an army of thirty thousand men, in order to obstruct his march. He had only nine thousand men with him. The two armies met in the valley of Fornova; and though the French, with a daring courage, which more than compensated their inferiority of numbers, broke the army of the allies, and gained a victory, which opened to their monarch a safe passage into his own territories, he was stripped of all his conquests in Italy in as short a time as he had gained them. Ferdinand, by the help of Gonsalvo de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, whom their catholic majesties had sent to his assistance, speedily recovered the whole kingdom of Naples. He died soon after, leaving his uncle Frederic in full possession of the throne⁷; and the political system of Italy resumed the same appearance as before the French invasion.

Charles, after his return to France, gave himself up to those pastimes and pleasures which had been the bane of his Italian expedition. In the mean time his health decayed, April 7, 1498. and he died without issue in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign; “a man of small body and short stature (says Comines); but so good that it was not possible to see a better creature; and so sweet and

6 Phil. de Comin.—Mariana

7 G. Flor.—Guicciardini.

gentle in disposition, that it was not known that he ever either gave or took offence in his life." He was succeeded by the duke of Orléans, under the title of Louis XII., to which was afterward added the most glorious of all appellations, that of *Father of his People*.

Louis was in his thirty-sixth year when he ascended the throne; and from that moment he forgot all his personal resentments. When some of his courtiers reminded him, that certain persons who had formerly been his enemies were now in his power, he made this memorable reply:—"The king of France revenges not the injuries of the duke of Orléans." It is one thing, however, to deliver a fine maxim, and another to make it the rule of one's conduct; Louis did both. But his wild ambition of reigning in Italy brought many misfortunes upon himself and his kingdom, notwithstanding his general prudence and paternal affection for his subjects.

His claim to Naples was the same with that of Charles, and he demanded the duchy of Milan in right of one of his grandmothers, daughter of John Galeazzo Visconti, who had stipulated, in the marriage contract of his daughter Valentina, that, on the failure of heirs male in the family of Visconti, the duchy should descend to the posterity of that princess and the duke of Orléans. This event took place. The family of Visconti became extinct in 1447; but the house of Orléans had hitherto been prevented, by various accidents, from making good their claim; and the duchy of Milan was still enjoyed by the descendants of Francis Sforza, a soldier of fortune, who, having married the natural daughter of the last legal duke, raised himself by his valour and talents to the ducal throne. Louis now prepared to assert his right with ardour, and he succeeded. But before I relate the particulars of that conquest, it will be necessary to say a few words of pope Alexander and his son Cæsar Borgia, on account of their alliance with the king of France, and the share which they had in the wars of Italy; remarking by the way, that Ludovico Sforza having murdered his nephew, and taken possession of the duchy of Milan, had been confirmed in it, in 1494, by the investiture of the emperor Maximilian, who married his daughter^s.

Alexander was at that time engaged in two great designs: one was, to recover for the Patrimony of St. Peter the many territories of which it was said to have been deprived; and the other, the exaltation of his son. Infamous as his conduct was, it did not impair his authority. He was publicly accused of a criminal correspondence with his own sister, whom he took away from three husbands successively; and he caused the last to be

assassinated, that he might bestow her in marriage on the heir of the house of Esté. The nuptials were celebrated in the Vatican with the most shameless diversions that debauch had ever invented for the confusion of modesty. Fifty courtesans danced naked before this incestuous family ; and prizes were given to those who exhibited the most lascivious motions. The duke of Gandia, and Cæsar Borgia, at that time cardinal, are said to have publicly disputed the favours of their sister Lucretia. The duke of Gandia was assassinated at Rome, and Cæsar Borgia was the supposed author of the murder⁹. The personal estates of the cardinals, at their decease, belong to the pope : and Alexander was strongly suspected of hastening the death of more than one member of the sacred college, that he might become possessed of their treasures. But, notwithstanding these enormities, the people of Rome obeyed this pontiff without murmuring, and his friendship was courted by all the potentates in Europe.

Louis had several reasons for courting the friendship of Alexander. He wished to be divorced from his wife Joan, the daughter of Louis XI. who was crooked and ugly, and with whom he had lived in wedlock above twenty-two years, without having any children. No law, but the law of nature, could authorise such a separation ; and yet disgust and policy rendered it necessary. The king disliked his wife, and was desirous of posterity. Anne of Bretagne, the queen-dowager, still retained that tenderness which she had felt for him, when duke of Orléans. His passion for her was not yet extinguished ; and unless he married her, or at least if she married another, the province would be for ever dismembered from the French monarchy.

These were powerful motives ; but the authority of the Holy see was necessary to give a sanction to them. It had long been customary to apply to the pope for permission to marry a relative or put away a wife : Louis applied to Alexander, who never scrupled any indulgence in which he could find his interest. The bull of divorce was issued ; and Cæsar Borgia was sent with it into France, with power to negotiate with the king on the subject of his Italian claims. But this son of the church, in a double sense, did not leave Rome till he was assured of the duchy of Valentinois, a company of one hundred armed men, and a pension of twenty thousand livres. All these Louis not only agreed to, but also promised to procure for him the sister of the king of Navarre. The ambitious Borgia now changed his ecclesiastical character for a secular one ; and the pope granted, at the same instant, a dispensation for his son to quit

⁹ Paul. Jov.—Ann. Feron

the church, and for the king of France to quit his wife¹⁰. Affairs were quickly settled between Louis and the queen-dowager; and the French prepared for a fresh invasion of Italy. A. D. 1499.

It this enterprise Louis had the Venetians on his side, who were to participate in the spoils of the Milanese. Maximilian, whose business it was to have defended the duke of Milan, his father-in-law and vassal, was not at that time in a condition to assist him. He could with difficulty make head against the Swiss, who had entirely freed themselves from the Austrian dominion: he therefore acted, upon this occasion, the feigned part of indifference.

The French monarch amicably terminated some disputes which he had with the archduke Philip, who did homage to him for the counties of Flanders and Artois. Louis also renewed the treaty concluded by Charles VIII. with England; and being now secure on all sides, he led his army over the Alps. He soon made himself master of the duchy of Milan, while the Venetians occupied the territory of Cremona. Arrayed in ducal robes he entered the city of Milan in triumph; and the duke, Ludovico Sforza, being betrayed soon after by the Swiss in his pay, was sent prisoner into France, A. D. 1500. and shut up in the castle of Loches, where he lay unpitied during the remainder of his days¹¹.

Could Louis here have set bounds to his ambition, satisfied with the conquest of Milan and with his authority in Genoa, (which he had also reduced under his yoke) he was enabled by his situation to prescribe laws to all the Italian princes and states, and to hold the balance among them. But the desire of recovering the kingdom of Naples engaged him in new projects; and as he foresaw opposition from Ferdinand of Spain, who had formerly expelled the French from that country, and who was connected both by treaties and affinity with Frederic king of Naples, he endeavoured by offers of interest, to which the ears of that monarch were never deaf, to engage him in an opposite confederacy. A plan was accordingly settled for the expulsion of Frederic, and the partition of his dominions. Fre-

10 Du Clos.—Guicciardini.—Some particulars relative to this separation are sufficiently curious to deserve notice. Louis XII. pretended that he had never consummated his marriage with the princess Joan, and the pope admitted his assertion as an argument for the divorce. But Joan herself, when questioned, declared in the most solemn manner that her marriage had been consummated. She even mentioned the time, place, and circumstances; and, on being asked by the king's proctor, whether she had not some natural defects unusual in the sex, she promptly replied: "I know I am neither so well made nor so handsome as the greater part of my sex; but I have no imperfection that renders me unfit for marriage." *Proces du Divorce de Jeanne de France*.

11 Brantome.—Guicciardini.

A. D. 1501. deric, unable to resist the force of the combined monarchs, each of whom was far his superior in power, resigned his sceptre. But he had the satisfaction to see Naples prove a source of contention to his conquerors. Louis and Ferdinand, though they had concurred in making the conquest, differed about the division of it. From allies they became

A. D. 1503. enemies; and Gonsalvo de Cordova, partly by the exertion of those military talents which gave him a just title to the appellation of the Great Captain, bestowed on him by his countrymen, partly by such shameless and frequent violations of the most solemn engagements as leave an indelible stain upon his memory, stripped the French of all they possessed in the Neapolitan dominions, and secured the entire possession of the disputed kingdom to his no less perfidious master¹².

In the mean time pope Alexander subdued the fiefs in Romania by the arms of Cæsar Borgia. There is not one act of oppression, subtle artifice, heroic courage, or atrocious villany, which his son left unpractised. He made use of more art and dexterity to get possession of eight or ten little towns, and to rid himself of a few noblemen who stood in his way, than Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Genghiz Khan, or Timour, had employed to subdue the most extensive regions of the globe. Every thing seemed to conspire to his aggrandisement. His father was armed with the spiritual, and he with the temporal power of the church. But his good fortune was of short duration : he laboured, without knowing it, for the patrimony of St. Peter.

Alexander VI. died in 1503, and left behind him a more detestable memory in Europe than Nero or Caligula had done in the Roman empire ; the sanctity of his station adding a double tinge to his guilt. The papacy, however, was indebted to him for an accession to its temporal dominions. Cæsar Borgia lost all the fruits of his crimes, and the church profited by them. Most of the cities which he had conquered chose another master, on the death of his father : and pope Julius II. obliged him to deliver up the rest.

Abandoned by friends, allies, and relations, Borgia, in a short time, had nothing left of all his wicked greatness ; and, to complete his miserable catastrophe, he who had betrayed so many, was at last betrayed. Gonsalvo de Cordova, with whom he had trusted his person, sent him prisoner into Spain. Louis took from him the duchy of Valentinois and his pension. All the world forsook him. Having found means, however, to escape from prison, he sought refuge in Navarre ; and courage, which is not properly a virtue, but a happy qualification, common

¹² Paul. Jov.—Guicciardini.—Mezeray.

alike to the wicked and the virtuous, did not desert him in his distresses. While in this asylum, he still maintained every part of his character. He carried on intrigues, and he commanded in person the army of the king of Navarre, his father-in law, during a war into which that prince entered by the persuasion of Borgia, against one of his vassals. He was slain fighting¹³: "A glorious end!" says Voltaire; but it is surely only glorious to fall in a good cause, and Borgia's was confessedly a bad one. We have no occasion therefore to think his fall too favourable. He wrought his own ruin, after having completed his disgrace; a lesson more striking than if he had suffered by the hands of the public executioner.

Louis made a new attempt to recover the kingdom of Naples, and was again disappointed. This disappointment was occasioned by the ambition of his minister, the cardinal d'Amboise (who sold his master's interest for a promise of the papacy), by the policy of Ferdinand, and by the bravery of the Great Captain. The king was now sincerely desirous of peace; and willing to secure the possession of Milan, he engaged by the treaty of Blois to pay Maximilian a large sum for the investiture of that duchy. By this treaty also, he promised his daughter in marriage to Charles of Austria (grandson of Maximilian and Ferdinand by Philip and Joan), with Bretagne, Burgundy, and all his Italian dominions, as her dowry, in case of his dying without heirs male. But this stipulation was wisely opposed by the states of France¹⁴: and the princess Anne was given in marriage to the count of Angouleme, first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to the crown, afterwards Francis I. Thus Bretagne, which had been twice annexed to the French monarchy, and twice near being severed from it, was incorporated with it; and Burgundy also was preserved.

During these transactions, Isabella, queen of Castile, died, and the archduke Philip went to take possession of that kingdom, as heir to his mother-in-law. He also died in a short time; and, to the astonishment of all Europe, left the king of France governor to his son Charles.

The balance of power was now happily adjusted among the principal European states, and might long have maintained general tranquillity, had not the active and enterprising genius of an ambitious pontiff, excited anew the flames of war and discord among them. But the cause of that discord, and its consequences, must be investigated in a future letter.

¹³ Paul. Jov.—Guicciardini.—Mezeray.

¹⁴ Mezeray, tome iv.—Henault, tome i.

LETTER LVI.

A View of Europe, from the League of Cambray to the Death of Louis XII.

JULIUS II., to whom the popes are particularly indebted for their temporal dominion, had formed the project of expelling all foreigners from Italy. But he was desirous A. D. 1508. in the first place, of humbling the Venetians, who had not only declined entering into his views, but had refused to restore the places which they had dismembered from the territory of the church. The league of Cambray was the consequence of their refusal.

Let us take a view of that republic, which so far excited the jealousy of the European princes and states, as to produce this famous confederacy.

Venice, my dear Philip, took its rise, as I have had occasion to notice, during the inroads of the barbarians, in the fifth century. The little islands of the Adriatic Gulf afforded an asylum to the neighbouring inhabitants, who originally lived by fishing, and afterwards became rich and powerful by commerce. They at last got footing on the Terra Firma; and Venice now extended her dominion from the lake of Como to the middle of Dalmatia. The Turks had deprived her of what she had taken from the Christian emperors in Greece; but she still retained the large island of Candia, and soon gained possession of Cyprus.

The civil constitution of Venice, established on a firm basis, had suffered no considerable alteration for several centuries; and the republic, during the same course of time, had conducted its affairs with an uniform and vigorous spirit of policy, which gave it great advantage over other states, whose views and measures changed with the form of their government, or with the persons by whom it was administered. But the constitution of this republic had one striking fault; it wanted a counterpoise to the power of the nobles, and did not offer proper encouragement to the common people. No private citizen of Venice could rise to the rank of a senator, or occupy any considerable employment in the state.

Such a partial aristocracy, which commits all power to a few members of the community, is naturally jealous. The Venetian nobles distrusted their own subjects, and were afraid of allowing them the use of arms; the military force of the republic, therefore, consisted wholly of foreign mercenaries. Nor was the command of these ever trusted to noble Venetians, lest they

should acquire such influence as might endanger public liberty. A soldier of fortune was placed at the head of the armies of the commonwealth; and to obtain that honour was the great object of the Italian *condottieri*, or leaders of bands, who made a trade of war, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and hired out troops to different princes and states¹.

A republic that disarmed its subjects, and excluded its nobles from military command, must have carried on warlike enterprises at great disadvantage; but its commerce was an inexhaustible source of opulence. All the nations in Europe depended upon the Venetians, not only for the precious commodities of the East, which they imported by the way of Egypt; but for various manufactures fabricated by them alone, or finished with a dexterity and elegance unknown in other countries. From this extensive commerce, the state derived such immense supplies as concealed the vices in its constitution, and enabled it to keep on foot such armies as were an over-match for the force which any of its neighbours could bring into the field. Venice became an object of terror to the Italian states. Her wealth was viewed with envy by the greatest monarchs, who could not vie with her private citizens in the magnificence of their buildings, in the richness of their dress and furniture, or in splendour and elegance of living. And Julius II., whose ambition and abilities were equal to those of any priest who had ever filled the papal throne, by working upon the fears of the Italians, and upon the avarice of the princes beyond the Alps, prompted them to form against this proud republic one of the most extensive confederacies that Europe had ever beheld.

The emperor, the king of France, the king of Spain, and the pope, were principals in the league of Cambray, to which almost all the princes of Italy acceded; the least considerable of them hoping for some share in the spoils of a state which they deemed to be devoted to inevitable destruction. The Venetians might have diverted this storm, or have broken its force; but with a presumptive rashness, to which there is nothing similar in the course of their history, they waited its approach. The fury of French courage rendered ineffectual all their precautions for the safety of the republic; and the battle of Aignadel, fought near the river Adda, ruined the army on which they relied for defence. Julius seized all the towns which A. D. 1509. they held in the ecclesiastical territories; and Ferdinand re-annexed to the kingdom of Naples the places which they had taken on the Calabrian coast. Maximilian, at the head of a powerful army, advanced towards Venice on one side; the French pushed their conquests on the other; and the Venetians, sur-

¹ Sandi Storia Civil. Veneziana.

rounded by so many enemies, and left without one ally, sunk from the height of presumption to the depth of despair. They abandoned their territories on the continent, and shut themselves up in their capital, as their last refuge².

Julius having thus, in the humiliation of the Venetians, attained his first object, began to think of the second, more worthy of his enterprising genius—The expulsion of every foreign power out of Italy. For this purpose it was necessary to dissolve the league of Cambray, and sow dissensions among those princes whom he had formerly united. He absolved the Venetians, on their ceding to him the places claimed by the Holy See, from that anathema which had been pronounced against them; and he concluded an alliance with the republic against those very French whom he had invited to oppress it. Their imperious behaviour had rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to the Italians; and Julius, who was a native of Genoa, was greatly desirous of revenging upon Louis the triumphant ostentation with which he had punished the revolt of that city, whose records he caused to be burned, and whose principal citizens he obliged to kneel at the foot of his throne, while he pronounced their sentence; which, after all, was only to pay a trifling fine. On Louis, therefore, the haughty pontiff was determined that the tempest first should fall; and in order to pave the way for this bold project, he at once sought a ground of quarrel with that monarch, and courted the alliance of foreign princes. He declared war against the duke of Ferrara, the confederate of the French; he solicited the favour of Henry VIII. of England, by sending him a sacred rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with holy oil: he detached Ferdinand from the league, and drew him over to his party, by granting him the full investiture of the kingdom of Naples; and, what he chiefly valued, he formed a treaty with the Swiss, whose subsidy Louis had refused to augment, and whom he had offended by some contumelious expressions³.

The confederacy of Cambray being thus dissolved, affairs soon began to wear a very different aspect in Italy. The Venetians, recovering from their consternation, were able to make head against the emperor, and even to regain part of the territory which they had lost. The pope and his allies made war upon the duke of Ferrara. They were compelled by the French to raise the siege of Bologna; but they afterwards formed that of Mirandola, where Julius appeared in person, visited the trenches, hastened the operations, and

² Guicciardini.—Mezeray.—Hist. de la Ligue faite a Cambray, par M. l'Abbe du Bos

³ Mezeray.—Platin.

entered the breach, with all the ardour of a young soldier in pursuit of military glory⁴.

Louis was now at a loss how to act: overawed by his veneration for the vicar of Christ, he was afraid to let his generals take those advantages which fortune threw into their way. He therefore wished to divest Julius of that sacred character, which chiefly rendered him formidable. With this view, in conjunction with Maximilian, who was himself ambitious of the papacy, and by the authority of some disgusted cardinals, he summoned a general council at Pisa, in order to reform the church and check the exorbitancies of the sovereign power. But he was as irresolute in supporting the council, as in instructing his generals. Julius saw his timidity, and availed himself of it. He summoned a council at the Lateran: he put Pisa under an interdict, and all the places that should A. D. 1515. give shelter to the schismatical council; he excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it; he even pointed his spiritual thunder against the princes who adhered to it; he freed their subjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take possession of them⁵.

Ambition is ready to seize the slightest pretences to accomplish its designs. The crafty Ferdinand, who, while he bore the surname of the Catholic, regarded the cause of the pope and of religion solely as a cover to his selfish politics, made this anathema of Julius a pretext for robbing the king of Navarre of his dominions, as an abettor of the council of Pisa. The method which he took to effect this conquest was not less remarkable than the measure itself. Henry VIII., his son-in-law, naturally sincere and sanguine in temper, was moved with a hearty desire of protecting the pope from that oppression to which he believed him exposed from the French monarch. Eager also to acquire that distinction in Europe to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amid the noise of arms; he was, therefore, induced to join that alliance, which the pope, Spain, and Venice, had formed against Louis. Ferdinand saw his intemperate ardour, and made him the instrument of his own base ambition.

This artful prince, who considered his close connexion with Henry only as the means of taking advantage of his inexperience, advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him: he exhorted him rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined the English had still some adherents. He promised to forward this conquest by the junction of a Spanish

⁴ Guicciardini.

⁵ Spelm. Concil.

army ; and so zealous did he seem to promote the interest of his son-in-law, that he even sent vessels to England, in order to transport the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. But the marquis of Dorset, who commanded this army, had no sooner landed in Guipuscoa, than Ferdinand suggested the necessity of first subduing the kingdom of Navarre.

The marquis refused to take any part in that enterprise, and therefore remained at Fontarabia. But so subtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that the English army, even while it lay in that situation, was almost as serviceable to his purpose, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French in awe, and prevented them from advancing to succour the kingdom of Navarre; so that the duke of Alva, having full leisure to conduct his operations, not only subdued the smaller towns, but reduced Pampeluna, the capital, and obliged John d'Albert, the sovereign, to take refuge in France. Dorset was obliged to return to England, with an army diminished by want and sickness, without being able to effect any thing for the interests of his master ; and Henry, enraged at his ill success, was with difficulty made sensible of the fraudulent conduct of the Spanish prince⁶.

These incidents were far from being unimportant; but events of still greater moment occurred in Italy. Though the war which England waged against France brought no advantage to the former kingdom, it was of much prejudice to the latter ; and by obliging Louis to withdraw his forces from Italy, deprived him of the superiority which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign, had acquired in that country. Gaston de Foix, his nephew, had been entrusted with the command of the French forces ; and, at the age of twenty-three, exhibited, in a few months, such feats of military skill and valour as were sufficient to render illustrious the life of the oldest general. His career

terminated with the famous battle of Ravenna; which, April 11. after a most obstinate dispute, he gained over the Spanish and papal armies. He perished when his victory was complete, and with him perished the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swiss who had now rendered themselves formidable by their bands of disciplined infantry, invaded the duchy of Milan with a numerous army, and encouraged its inconstant inhabitants to revolt from the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example of that duchy ; and Louis quickly lost his Italian conquests. Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovico, was reinstated in the possession of Milan ; and the Genoese recovered their independence⁷.

The expulsion of the French gave great pleasure to the pope,

6 Lord Herbert's Hist. of Henry VIII.—Polyd. Virg.

7 Guicciardini.

the more particularly as he owed it to the Swiss, whom he had honoured with the title of *Defenders of the Holy See*, and whose councils he hoped always to govern. He did not, however, long enjoy this satisfaction. He died suddenly, at an advanced age, and was succeeded in the pontificate by A. D. 1513. John of Medicis, son of the celebrated Lorenzo, who had governed Tuscany with high reputation, and obtained the appellation of *Father of the Muses*. John took the name of Leo X. and proved one of the most illustrious pontiffs that ever sat on the papal throne. Humane, liberal, affable, the patron of art and genius, he had a soul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor; and he was more delicate in employing means for the execution of them. By the negotiations of Leo, who adhered to the political system of Julius, Maximilian was detached from the French interest; and Henry VIII., notwithstanding his disappointments in the former campaign, was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Louis⁸.

To prevent disturbance from Scotland, while the English arms should be employed on the continent, Henry despatched an ambassador to James IV. his brother-in-law, with instructions to adjust all disputes which had arisen between the two kingdoms. But the projected invasion of France roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation. The ancient league which subsisted between France and Scotland was esteemed the most sacred bond of connexion, and believed by the Scots to be essential to the preservation of their independence against a people so superior as the English. Henry's ambassador therefore easily foresaw, though James still made professions of maintaining a neutrality, that a war with Scotland would in the end prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the danger to his master, who sent the earl of Surry to put the borders in a posture of defence, and to resist the expected inroad of the enemy⁹.

Thirsting for military fame, Henry invaded France by the way of Calais. But of all the allies, whose assistance he expected, the Swiss alone fully performed their engagements. Maximilian, among others, failed to perform his; although he had received in advance a subsidy of a hundred thousand crowns. That he might make some atonement, however, for his breach of faith, he appeared in person in the Low Countries, and joined the English army with a small body of German and Flemish troops, that were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new-levied forces. The emperor carried his condescension yet farther. He did not pretend, with so few men, to act as an auxiliary, but enlisted himself in the service of

⁸ Guicciardini.—Herbert.

⁹ Buchanan.—Drummond.—Herbert.

the English monarch; wore the cross of St. George, and received a hundred crowns a day for the use of his table¹⁰.

An emperor of Germany, serving under a king of England, and living by his bounty, was surely a spectacle truly extraordinary; but Henry treated him with the highest respect, and he really directed all the operations of the war. The first enterprise which they undertook was the siege of Terouenne, a town situated on the borders of Picardy. During the attack of this place was fought the battle of Guinegate, where the cavalry of France fled at the first onset, and the duke of Longueville, Bussi d'Amboise, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of distinction, were made prisoners. This action, or rather rout, is commonly called the *Battle of Spurs*; because the French on that occasion made greater use of their spurs than of their military weapons¹¹.

After so considerable an advantage, Henry might have made incursions to the gates of Paris; but, instead of pushing his victory, he returned to the siege. Terouenne was soon reduced; and the anxieties of the French were renewed with regard to the motions of the English. The Swiss, at the same time, had entered Burgundy with a formidable army; and the catholic king, though he had made a truce with Louis, seemed disposed to seize every advantage which fortune should present to him.

While France was thus endangered, Louis knew not what course to follow, or where to place his safety: his troops were dismayed, and his people intimidated. But he profited by the blunders of his enemies. The Swiss allowed themselves to be seduced into a negotiation by Tremouille, governor of Burgundy, without inquiring whether he had any powers to treat: and that nobleman, who knew that his stipulations would be disavowed by his master, agreed to whatever they were pleased to demand, happy to free the realm from such dangerous invaders at the expense of a little money and many empty promises. Henry discovered no less ignorance in the conduct of war than the Swiss in negotiation. By the interested counsel of Maximilian, he laid siege to Tournay, which then belonged to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a passage into the heart of the Netherlands. Soon after the reduction of this place, which was of no benefit to Henry, he was informed of the retreat of the Swiss; and as the season was now far advanced, he thought proper to return to England with the greater part of his army. Such, my dear Philip, was the issue of a campaign much boasted of by the English monarch; but which, all circumstances considered, was unprofitable, if not inglorious.

10 Herbert.

11 Hist. du Chev. Bayard.—Mem. de Bellai.

The success which attended the English arms in North Britain was more decisive. James had crossed the Tweed with fifty thousand men; but, instead of making a vigorous campaign, he wasted his time in the arms of a fair captive. His troops became dissatisfied, and began to be harassed by hunger; and as the authority of the prince was yet feeble among the Scots, and military discipline extremely lax, many of them retired from the camp. The earl of Surry, having collected a body of twenty-six thousand men, advanced to the hills of Cheviot; drew the Scots from their high station, by feigning to enter their country; and defeated them in the field of Sept. 9. Flodden, where their king and the flower of his nobility were slain¹².—Henry, on this occasion, discovered a mind truly great and generous. Though an inviting opportunity was now offered him of extending his dominion over the whole island, he took compassion on the helpless condition of his sister Margaret, and her infant son: and readily granted peace to Scotland, as soon as it was solicited. A. D. 1514.

A general accommodation soon followed. Louis, dreading the event of another campaign, sued for peace. He renounced the council of Pisa, now transferred to Lyons; and Leo granted him absolution. Ferdinand the catholic renewed the truce with France; and he and Maximilian entered into a treaty with Louis for the marriage of his daughter Renée to Charles, prince of Spain. Louis himself espoused the princess Mary of England, and agreed to pay her brother Henry a million of crowns. These two monarchs also entered into an alliance for their mutual defence¹³.

The French king thus rescued from his numerous difficulties, had the happiness of beholding once more his affairs in good order, and all Europe in tranquillity. But he enjoyed this happiness only for a short time. Enchanted with the beauty and elegant accomplishments of his young queen, he forgot in her arms his advanced age, and was seduced into such a round of gaiety and pleasure as proved very unsuitable to his declining health¹⁴. He died about three months after Jan. 1, 1515. the marriage, in his fifty-third year, and when he was meditating anew the conquest of Milan—which was left to immortalise the name, and swell the misfortunes, of his successor.

¹² Buchanan.—Drummond.—Herbert.

¹³ Du Tillet.

¹⁴ Brantome.—Eloge de Louis XII.—“The good king,” says another writer, “for the sake of his wife, totally altered his manner of living. Whereas *before* he used to dine at eight o’clock in the morning, he *now* did not dine till noon. He had also been accustomed to go to bed at six in the evening, and he *now* frequently sat up till midnight.” (*Hist. du Chev. Bayard*.) Nothing can mark more strongly than this passage the difference between the mode of living in that and the present age.

There is no perfection in human beings, my dear Philip, and consequently not in kings, whatever their flatterers may tell them; but few men, either princes or subjects, seem to have possessed more social and benevolent virtues than fell to the share of Louis XII. He was universally beloved by the French: the populace and the nobility equally adored him, and unanimously called him their Father; a title with which he was particularly pleased, and which he made it the study of his life to deserve. He began his reign with abolishing many taxes; and at the time of his death, notwithstanding his wars and disasters, he had diminished, by one half, the public burthens. His very misfortunes, or, in a political sense, his errors, endeared him to his subjects; for it was well known, that he might have maintained his conquests in Italy, if he would have levied larger sums upon his people. But his heart would not permit him to distress them: he esteemed any loss trivial, compared with that of their affections. His moderation was no less remarkable than his humanity. When informed that some of his courtiers smiled at his economy, which they considered as too rigid, and that certain authors had taken the liberty to ridicule it in their writings, he was by no means displeased. "I would rather," replied he magnanimously, "that my people should laugh at my parsimony, than weep at their own oppressions¹⁵."

15 Hist. de Louis XII. pub. par Theod. Godefroy.

LETTER LVII.

The general View of Europe continued, from the Accession of Francis I. to the Death of the Emperor Maximilian; including the Rise of the Reformation in Germany.

LOUIS XII. was succeeded by his son-in-law, Francis, count of Angouleme, whose military genius, it was foreseen, would soon disturb the peace of Europe. Young, A. D. 1515. brave, ambitious, and enterprising, he immediately turned his eyes towards Italy, as the scene of glory and of conquest. His first object was the recovery of Milan. But before he commenced that expedition, he renewed the treaty which his predecessors had concluded with England, and having nothing to fear from Spain, where Ferdinand was on the verge of the grave, he marched towards the Alps, under pretence of defend-

ing his kingdom against the incursions of the Swiss. Informed of his real views, that warlike people had taken arms, at the instigation of the pope, in order to protect Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan. They took possession of all those passes in the Alps, through which they thought the French would enter Italy; and when they learned that Francis had made his way into Piedmont by a secret route, they descended undismayed into the plain; and gallantly opposed themselves on foot to the heavy-armed cavalry of France. The two armies met at Sept. 13. Marignan, near Milan, where ensued one of the most furious and obstinate battles mentioned in the history of modern time. The action began towards evening: night parted the combatants: but, the next morning, the Swiss renewed the attack with unabated ardour, and it required all the heroic valour of Francis to inspire his troops with courage sufficient to resist the shock. The Swiss, though at last disordered by the cavalry, and galled by the cannon, long kept their ground; and did not retire till they had lost upwards of twelve thousand of their best troops, about one half of their whole number. The loss of the French was very considerable: twenty thousand men are said to have fallen on both sides; and the old marshal Trivulzio who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, used to declare, that in comparison of the battle of Marignan every other engagement he had seen was but *the play of children*, but that this was a *combat of heroes*¹.

The surrender of the city of Milan, and the conquest of the whole duchy, were the consequences of this victory. Maximilian Sforza resigned his claim, in consideration of a pension; and Francis, having concluded a treaty with the pope and with the Swiss, returned into France, leaving to Charles duke of Bourbon the government of his Italian dominions².

The success and glory of the young monarch began to excite jealousy in the breast of the old emperor Maximilian; nor was the rapid progress of Francis, though in so distant a country, regarded with indifference even by the king of England. Henry despatched a minister to the court of Vienna, with secret orders to propose certain payments to the emperor: and Maximilian, who was ever ready to embrace any overture to excite fresh troubles, and always necessitous, immediately A. D. 1516. invaded Italy with a considerable army. But being repulsed before Milan by the French garrison, and hearing that twelve thousand Swiss were advancing to its relief, he retired hastily into Germany; made peace with France and with Venice; ceded Verona to that republic for a sum of money; and

¹ Mem. de Fleuranges.

² Guicciardini.—Mezeray

thus excluded himself, in some measure, from future access into Italy³.

This peace, which restored universal tranquillity to Europe, Jan. 23. was preceded by the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the succession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions; an event which had long been looked for, and from which the most important consequences were expected. Charles, who had hitherto resided in the Low Countries, which he governed as heir of the house of Burgundy, was now near the full age of sixteen, and possessed a recollection and sedateness much above his years; but his genius had yet given no indication of that superiority which its maturer state displayed. That capacious and decisive judgment, which afterwards directed so ably the affairs of a vast empire, was left to be discovered by those great events to which it gave birth, and those occasions which rendered it necessary. At present there was little call for it.

Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, had been appointed sole regent of Castile till the arrival of Charles. This prelate, who united the abilities of a great statesman with the abject devotion of a superstitious monk, and the magnificence of a prime minister with the austerity of a mendicant, maintained order and tranquillity in Spain, notwithstanding the discontents of turbulent and high-spirited nobles. When they disputed his right to the regency, he coolly showed them the testament of Ferdinand, and the ratification of that deed by Charles; but these not satisfying them, and arguments proving ineffectual, he led them insensibly towards a balcony, whence they had a view of a large body of troops under arms, and a formidable train of artillery. "Behold," said the cardinal, raising his voice, and extending his arm, "the powers which I have received from his catholic majesty: by these I govern Castile, and will govern it, till the king, your master and mine, shall come A. D. 1517. and take possession of his realm." A declaration so bold and determined silenced all opposition⁴.

The fate of this minister merits our attention, though not immediately connected with the line of general history. The young king was received with universal acclamations of joy; but Ximenes found little cause to rejoice. He was seized with a violent disorder, supposed to be the effect of poison; and when he recovered, Charles, prejudiced against him by the Spanish grandees and his Flemish courtiers, slighted his advice, and meanly suffered him to sink into neglect. The cardinal did not bear this treatment with his usual firmness of spirit. He expect-

ed a more grateful return from a prince, to whom he delivered a kingdom far more flourishing than it had been in any former age, and authority more extensive and better established than the most illustrious of his ancestors had ever possessed. Conscious of his own integrity and merit, he could not refrain from giving vent, at times, to indignation and complaint. He lamented the fate of his country, and foretold the calamities to which it would be exposed from the insolence, the rapacity, and the ignorance of strangers. These feelings agitated the soul of Ximenes, when he received a letter from the king, dismissing him from his councils, under pretence of relieving his age from that burthen which he had so long and so ably sustained. This epistle proved fatal to the minister. His haughty mind could not endure disgrace, nor his generous heart the stings of ingratitude : he expired a few hours after he had perused the letter⁵.

While Charles was taking possession of the throne of Spain, in consequence of the death of one grandfather, another was endeavouring to obtain for him the imperial crown. With this view, Maximilian assembled a diet at Augsburg, where he strove to gain the favour of the electors by many acts of beneficence, in order to engage them to choose that A. D. 1518. young prince as his successor. But Maximilian himself having never been crowned by the pope, a ceremony deemed essential in that age, as well as the preceding, he was considered only as king of the Romans, or emperor *elect* : and no example occurring in history of any person being chosen successor to a king of the Romans, the Germans, ever tenacious of their forms, obstinately refused to confer upon Charles a dignity which was unknown to their constitution⁶.

But the diet of Augsburg had other employment. Thither was summoned Martin Luther, for “propagating new and dangerous opinions.” These opinions, my dear Philip, were the first principles of the Reformation, which soon diffused themselves through Germany, which were afterwards embraced by so many nations, and which separated one half of Europe from the Romish church. Of the origin of this great schism some account will be necessary ; for, although I would by no means engage you in theological disputes, you ought to know the grounds of a controversy, which produced so remarkable a revolution in the creeds and ceremonies of Christians, that you may be the better enabled to judge of its effects upon society, upon industry, literature, policy, and morals. In that light only I mean to consider it : the road to heaven I leave to heavenly directors.

In the course of these Letters I have had occasion to observe the rise of the pope’s spiritual power, as well as of his temporal

3 Marsollier, Vie de Ximen.—Baudier, Hist. de Ximen.

6 Barre, tome vi.

dominions ; to trace the progress, and to remark the abuses of each. A repetition here would therefore be unnecessary. The spiritual despotism of Gregory VII.—the temporal tyranny of Alexander VI.—and the bloody ambition of Julius II.—make too strong an impression on the mind to be soon effaced. After that enormous privilege which the Roman pontiffs assumed of disposing of crowns, and releasing nations from their oaths of allegiance, the most pernicious to society was that of absolving individuals from the ties of moral duty. This dangerous power, or one equivalent to it, the pope claimed as the successor of St. Peter, and the keeper of the spiritual treasury of the church, supposed to contain the superabundant good works of the saints, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ. Out of this inexhaustible storehouse, his holiness might retail, at pleasure, particular portions to those who were deficient. He assumed in short, and directly exercised, the right of pardoning sins ; which was, in other words, granting a permission to commit them ; for, if it is known, as had long been the case in the Romish church, at what price the punishment of any crime may be bought off, the encouragement to vice is the same as if a dispensation had been granted beforehand ; and even that was frequently allowed.

The influence of such indulgences upon morals may easily be imagined ; especially in ages when superstition had silenced the voice of conscience, and reason was bewildered in Gothic darkness ; when the church had provided numerous sanctuaries, which not only screened from the arm of the civil magistrate, persons guilty of the greatest enormities, but often enabled them to live in affluence. Yet that great historian and profound philosopher, Mr. Hume, has endeavoured to prove, that the protestant writers err in supposing that a dissolution of morals should ensue, “because a man could purchase for a shilling an *indulgence* for the most enormous and unheard of crimes !” But you, I hope, will think otherwise, when you have duly weighed the foregoing considerations.

Mr. Hume seems here to have forgotten that all men are not philosophers ; or, blinded by the love of paradox, to have lost sight of common sense. He seems even to have lost sight of his argument ; for he adds, that “after these indulgences, there still remained hell-fire, the civil magistrate, and the remorse of conscience,” to awe mankind to their duty. Now the first assertion is literally false ; for the very words of an indulgence imported, that it restored the individual “to that innocence and purity which he possessed at baptism :” and, according to the doctrine of the Roman church, the infant is then fit for hea-

ven. But the indulgence did not stop here : it concluded thus, “ so that when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened⁸. ”—The terror of the civil magistrate could be very small, when, as I have already observed, the church afforded shelter to every criminal that sought her sanctuaries, and took into her bosom the whole body of the clergy. Conscience, indeed—so often represented by this doubting sage as an erring guide, as a principle superinduced and local—could not be banished from the human breast; but its voice, if not entirely silenced by superstition, was too feeble to be heard by the self-deluding and head-strong passions of man, when flattered by the hope, or encouraged by the assurance, of a papal indulgence.

These indulgencies, or plenary pardons, of which I have been led insensibly to speak, and which not only served as a remission of sins to the living, but as a release to the dead from the pains of purgatory, were first invented by Urban II. as a recompense for those who engaged in the wild expeditions to the Holy Land. They were afterwards granted to such as contributed money for that or any other pious purpose : and the sums so raised were frequently diverted to other uses. They were employed to swell the state, to furnish the luxuries, or accomplish the ambitious enterprises of the popes. John XXII. reduced this spiritual traffic into a system : and Leo X., the great patron of arts and letters, having exhausted the papal treasury in rewards to men of genius, in magnificent works, and expensive pleasures, thought that he might attempt, without danger, those pious frauds which had been so successfully practised by the most ignorant of his predecessors : Leo published a general sale of *indulgences*.

If any thing could apologise for a religious cheat that tends to the subversion of morals, Leo's apology was ready. He was engaged in the completion of that suburb temple, St. Peter's church, founded by his predecessor ; and the Turks were preparing to enter Germany. He had no occasion to forge pretences for this extension of papal authority. But Leo, though a polite scholar, and a fine gentleman, was but a pitiful pope. Liberal minded himself, and surrounded by men of liberal minds, he did not foresee that the lamp of knowledge, which he held up to mankind, would light them to the abode of Superstition; would show them her errors, her impostures, her usurpations, and their own slavish condition. He did not reflect that impositions employed with success in one age may prove dangerous experiments in another. But he had soon occasion to remember it.

⁸ Seckend, Comment. lib. i.—Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. book ii.

The abuse of the sale of indulgences in Germany, where they were publicly retailed in ale-houses, and where the produce of particular districts was farmed out, in the manner of a toll or custom, awakened the indignation of Martin Luther, an Augustine friar, and professor of theology in the university of Wittenberg. Luther was also incensed, it is said, because the privilege of vending this spiritual merchandise had been taken from his order, and given to the Dominicans. Be that as it may, he wrote and preached against indulgences. His writings were read with avidity, and his discourses were listened to with admiration. He appealed to reason and scripture, for the truth of his arguments, not to the decision of counsels or of popes. A corner of the veil was now happily lifted. The people ever fond of judging for themselves (and in matters which concern themselves only, they have an undoubted right), flattered by this appeal, began to call in question that authority which they had formerly revered, which they had blindly adored; and Luther, emboldened by success, extended his views, and ventured to declaim against other abuses. From abuses he proceeded to usurpations; from usurpations to errors; and from one error to another, till the whole fabric of the Romish church began to totter.

Alarmed at the progress of this daring innovator, Leo had summoned him to answer for his doctrines at Rome. But that citation was remitted at the intercession of Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, who had hitherto protected Luther; and his cause was ordered to be tried in Germany, by cardinal Caietan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastic learning, and the pope's legate at the imperial court. For this purpose, among others, Caietan attended the diet at Augsburg; and thither Luther repaired without hesitation, after having obtained the emperor's safe conduct, though he had good reason to decline a judge chosen from among his avowed adversaries. The cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured at first to gain him by gentle treatment; but finding him firm in his principles, and thinking it beneath the dignity of his station to enter into any formal dispute, he required him, by virtue of the apostolic powers, with which he was invested, to retract his errors (without shewing that they were such), and to abstain, for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions. Luther, who had flattered himself with a hearing, and hoped to distinguish himself in a dispute with so able a prelate, was mortified at this arbitrary mode of proceeding; but his native intrepidity of mind did not forsake him. He boldly replied, that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; but offered to submit the whole controversy to the

judgment of the learned, naming several universities. This offer was rejected by Caietan, who still insisted upon a simple recantation ; and Luther, by the advice of his friends, after appealing to a general council, secretly withdrew from Augsburg, and returned into Saxony⁹. The progress of this extraordinary man, and of that reformation to which he gave birth, I shall afterwards have occasion to trace.

The diet of Augsburg was soon followed by the death of Maximilian. This event was, in itself, of little moment, Jan. 19, 1519. as that prince had, for some years, ceased to be of any consequence ; but as it left vacant the first station among Christian princes, of which two great monarchs were equally ambitious, it became memorable by its effects. It gave rise to a competition, and awakened a jealousy, which threw all Europe into agitation : it broke that profound peace which then reigned in Christendom, and excited wars more general, and more mischievously durable, than any which modern times had beheld. But, before we enter on that interesting æra, I must carry forward the Progress of Society ; notice the improvement in arts and in letters ; and exhibit some account of those great naval discoveries which produced so important a revolution in the commercial world, and gave to Europe a new continent while religion and ambition were depopulating the old. Meanwhile it will be proper to remark, that, during the reign of Maximilian, Germany was divided into circles, in each of which a provincial and particular jurisdiction was established, to supply the place of a public and common tribunal. In this reign also was instituted the Imperial Chamber, composed of judges nominated partly by the emperor, partly by the several states, and invested with authority for the final decision of all differences among the members of the Germanic body. The Aulic Council too, which takes cognisance of all feudal cases, and such as belong to the emperor's immediate jurisdiction, received under this prince a new form¹⁰. By these regulations, order was given to that confused government, and some degree of vigour restored to the imperial authority.

9 Sleid Hist. Reform.—Robertson, ubi, sup. 10 Dutt. De Pace Publica Imperii.

LETTER LVIII.

Of the Progress of Society in Europe, from the Beginning of the Fourteenth to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century, with a retrospective View of the Revival of Letters.

WE have already, my dear Philip, traced the progress of society to the beginning of the fourteenth century. We have seen corporation charters granted; civil communities formed; and the great body of the people, released from that servitude under which they had so long groaned, applying themselves to trade and industry. We have also seen universities generally established; the study of the Roman law introducing a more perfect system of jurisprudence; an acquaintance with the learned languages awakening an ambition of literary merit; manners taking a more liberal turn; and commerce beginning to circulate the conveniences of life. But society had still many advances to make, before it reached that state of refinement in which we now behold it, or which it had attained under the pontificate of Leo X.

These advances it is now our business to trace. By the way, however, I must remind you, that, in the course of the general narrative, I have taken occasion to notice the progress of society with respect to the command of national force; the vigour which government acquired, by the increase of the royal authority; the alterations which took place in the art of war, in consequence of the invention of gunpowder; the establishment of standing armies, and the supplies necessary for the support of such a body of men. I have also had occasion to mention the new system adopted by princes, for national defence and safety, by maintaining a balance of political power, and the means by which that system was perfected. I shall, therefore, devote this letter solely to such objects as cannot come within the line of general history: the progress of manners, of arts, and of polite literature. The sciences, as since cultivated, were not yet known. True philosophy belongs to a more modern æra.

Mankind are no sooner in possession of the conveniences of life, than they begin to aim at its elegancies. About the commencement of the fourteenth century, such a taste became general in Europe. The Italian cities, which had early acquired liberty, and obtained municipal charters, carried on at that time a flourishing trade with India, through the ports of the Red Sea. They introduced into their own country manufactures of various kinds, and carried them on with great ingenuity and vigour. In

the manufacture of silk, in particular, they made so rapid a progress, that, about the middle of that century, a thousand citizens of Genoa appeared in one procession, clad in silk robes. They attempted new arts ; among which may be numbered, the art of taking impressions from engravings on plates of copper, the manufacture of crystal glass for mirrors, of paper from linen rags, and of earthen ware in imitation of porcelain. And they imported from warmer climates the art of raising several natural productions (formerly unknown in Europe), which now furnish the materials of a lucrative and extended commerce ; particularly the culture of silk, and the plantation of the sugar cane. Originally the produce of Asia, and esteemed peculiar to the East, the sugar cane was transplanted from the Greek islands into Sicily, thence into Italy, afterward into Spain and Portugal, and at length into the newly discovered islands in the Western Ocean¹.

The discovery of those islands, and also of the American continent, was the effect of another modern invention, namely, the mariner's compass ; which, by rendering navigation at once more secure and more adventurous, facilitated the intercourse between remote nations, and may be said to have brought them nearer to each other.

But the progress of navigation, and the discoveries to which it gave birth, demand a particular letter. Yet here I must observe, that commerce, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was by no means confined to the Italian states. Flanders had long been as famous for the manufacture of linen and woollen cloths, as Italy was for that of silk. All the wool of England, before the reign of Edward III., except a small quantity wrought into coarse cloths for home consumption, was sold to the Flemings or Lombards, but chiefly to the former, and manufactured by them ; and it was not till the middle of the fifteenth century (so slow were our ancestors in availing themselves of their natural commercial advantages !) that the English were capable of fabricating cloth for foreign markets. Bruges was at once the staple for English wool, for the woollen and linen manufactures of the Netherlands, for the naval stores and other bulky commodities of the North, and for the precious commodities of the East, as well as domestic productions, carried thither by the Italian states². It was the greatest emporium in Europe.

Nothing so much advances society as an intercourse with strangers. In proportion as commerce made its way into the different countries of Europe, they successively turned their attention to those objects, and adopted those manners which oc-

¹ Guicciardini, *Descrit. de Paesi Bassi*. ² *Ibid.*—Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. i.

cupy and distinguish polished nations. Accordingly we find the Italians and Flemings taking the lead in the liberal as well as in the commercial arts, and exhibiting the first examples of cultivated life.

Painting and architecture revived in Italy toward the close of the thirteenth century. They continued to make rapid progress under different masters, and were both carried to perfection during the period under review. Tapestry, then in high estimation, had long been manufactured with the greatest ingenuity in the Low Countries; and the Flemings, in their turn, became painters and architects, before the rest of Europe were furnished with the necessary arts. Ghent and Bruges, Venice and Genoa, were splendid cities, adorned with stately buildings, while the inhabitants of London and Paris lived in wretched cottages, without even a chimney to carry up the smoke. The fire was made on the ground in the middle of the apartment, and all the family sat round it, like the Laplanders in their huts³. This rude method of building and living continued to be common in considerable towns, both in France and England, as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Learning and politeness are supposed to keep pace with each other. But this observation seems to have been made without due attention, to have been formed into a maxim by some dogmatist, and implicitly adopted by succeeding writers; for, if it be applied to the abstract sciences, it seems equally void of foundation, whether we consider the fact itself, the nature of those sciences, or the manners of the *literati* in different ages. Politeness arises from the habits of social life, and the intercourse of men and of nations; it is therefore more likely to accompany commerce than learning. But it must be allowed, that manners receive their last polish from works of imagination and sentiment, which soften the mind by pictures of natural and moral beauty, and dispose it to tenderness and social affection.

These reflections, my dear Philip, naturally lead us to the most curious and interesting inquiries—the revival of letters, and the progress of genius and manners. The method in which you now study history does not permit me to treat those subjects so fully as their importance may seem to require; yet I will take care to omit nothing essential for a gentleman to know, while I studiously avoid every thing that belongs to the mere antiquary. An attempt to trace with critical minuteness, through dark and ignorant ages, the obscure sources of refinement, is like travelling over barren mountains and uninhabited deserts in search of the remote fountain of the Nile, instead of contemplating the accumulated majesty of that river, when, greatly

bountiful, its mysterious waters shed health and plenty over an extensive kingdom, and furnish the means of an enriching commerce, which feeds and employs millions, and calls forth every power of the mind, and cherishes every virtue of the heart.

The first permanent step towards the revival of letters in Europe was the erection of schools under lay preceptors. Alfred and Charlemagne, those early luminaries of the modern world, had shed a temporary lustre over the ages in which they lived. They had encouraged learning both by their example and patronage, and some gleams of genius began to break forth; but the promising dawn did not arrive at perfect day. The schools erected by these great monarchs were confined to the churches and monasteries, and monks were almost the only instructors of youth. The contracted ideas of such men, partly arising from their mode of life, partly from their religious opinions, rendered them utterly unfit for the communication of liberal knowledge. Science, in their hands, degenerated into a barbarous jargon, and genius again sunk in the gloom of superstition. A long night of ignorance succeeded. Learning was considered as dangerous to true piety, and darkness was necessary to hide the usurpations of the clergy, who were then exalting themselves on the ruins of the civil power. The ancient poets and orators were represented as seducers to the path of destruction. Virgil and Horace were the pimps of hell, Ovid a lecherous fiend, and Cicero a vain declaimer, impiously elate with the talent of heathenish reasoning. Aristotle's logic alone was recommended, because it was found capable of involving the simplest arguments, and perplexing the plainest truths. It became the universal science: and Europe, for two centuries, produced no composition that can afford pleasure to a classical reader. Incredible legends, unedifying homilies, and trite expositions of scripture, were the only labours of the learned during that dark period. But the gloom at last began to disappear, and the sceptre of knowledge was wrested from the hand of Superstition. Several enlightened persons among the laity, who had studied under the Arabs in Spain, undertook the education of youth about the beginning of the eleventh century, in the chief cities of Italy; and afterward in those of France, England, and Germany. Instruction was communicated in a more rational manner: more numerous and more useful branches of science were taught; a taste for ancient literature revived; and some Latin poems were written, before the close of the twelfth century, not unworthy of the latter times of the Roman empire⁴.

The human soul during this period seems to have roused itself as from a lethargy. The same enthusiasm which prompted

one set of men to signalise their valour in the Holy Land, inspired another with the ardour of transmitting to posterity the gallant actions of the former, and of animating the zeal of those pious warriors, by the fabulous adventures of former Christian heroes. These performances were composed in verse; and several of them with much elegance, and no small degree of imagination. But many bars were yet in the way of literary refinement. The taste of the age was too rude to relish the beauties of classical composition: the Latin language, in which all science was conveyed, was but imperfectly known to the bulk of readers; and the scarcity of parchment, together with the expense of transcribing, rendered books so extremely dear, as to be only within the reach of a few. Learning, however, continued to advance, in spite of every obstruction; and the invention of paper in the fourteenth century, and of printing about the middle of the fifteenth, rendered knowledge so general in less than a century after, that Italy began to compare, in arts and in letters, her modern with her ancient state, and to contrast the age of Leo X. with that of the second Cæsar.

In the mean time, an extraordinary revolution had taken place in the empire of Genius, introduced by one no less remarkable in the system of manners. Women, among the ancient Greeks and Romans, seem to have been considered merely as objects of sensuality, or of domestic convenience. They were devoted to a state of seclusion and obscurity, had few attentions offered them, and were permitted to take as little share in the conversation as in the general commerce of life. But the Gothic nations had no sooner settled themselves in the provinces of the Roman empire, than the female character began to assume new consequence. Those fierce barbarians, who seemed to thirst only for blood, who involved in one undistinguished ruin the monuments of ancient grandeur and ancient ingenuity, and who devoted to the flames the knowledge of ages, always forbore to offer any violence to the women. They brought with them that respectful gallantry which had power to restrain even their savage ferocity; and they introduced into the west of Europe a generosity of sentiment, and a complaisance towards the ladies, to which the most polished nations of antiquity were strangers.

These sentiments of generous gallantry were fostered by the institution of chivalry, which lifted woman yet higher in the scale of life. Instead of being nobody in society, she became its *primum mobile*. Every knight devoting himself to danger, declared himself the humble servant of some lady, who was generally the object of his love. Her honour was supposed to be intimately connected with his, and her smile was the reward of his valour: for her he attacked, for her he defended, and for her he

shed his blood. Courage, animated by so powerful a motive, lost sight of every thing but enterprise. Incredible toils were cheerfully endured; incredibly actions were performed; and the boldest inventions of fiction were more than realised. The effect was reciprocal. Women, proud of their influence, became worthy of the heroism they had inspired; they were not to be approached but by the high-minded and the brave: and men, in those gallant times, could only hope to be admitted to the bosom of the chaste fair, after having proved their fidelity and affection by years of perseverance and of peril.

A similar change took place in the operations of war. The perfect hero of antiquity was superior to fear; but he made use of every artifice to annoy his enemy: impelled by animosity and hostile passion, like the savage in the American woods, he was only anxious of attaining his end, without regard whether fraud or force were the means. But the true knight or modern hero of the middle ages, who seemed to have had, in all his encounters, his eye fixed on the judicial combat, or Judgment of God, despised stratagem as much as he courted danger. He disdained to take advantage of his enemy; he desired only to see him, and to combat him upon equal terms, trusting that Heaven would interpose in behalf of the just: and as he professed only to vindicate the cause of religion, of injured beauty, or oppressed innocence, he was confirmed in this enthusiastic opinion by his own heated imagination. Strongly persuaded that the decision must be in his favour, he fought as if under the influence of divine inspiration rather than of military ardour.⁵ Thus the system of chivalry blended the heroic and sanctified characters, united devotion and valour, zeal and gallantry.

From these new manners arose a new species of composition; namely, the romance, or modern heroic fable. It was originally written in verse, and, by giving a new direction to genius, banished for a time that vein of ancient poetry which had been cultivated with success during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Modern poetry, however, lost nothing by this relapse. Had classical taste and judgment been so early established, imagination must have suffered: truth and reason, as an ingenious writer observes, would have chased before their time those visions of illusive fancy which delight to hover on the gloom of superstition, and which form so considerable a part of our polite literature. We should still have been strangers to the beautiful extravagances of romantic fabling.

This new species of composition took its rise in the thirteenth century, among the Troubadours, or minstrels of Provence; and

⁵ Mem. sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, par M. de la Curne de St. Palaye.

was originally written in the Provençal dialect, then the most polished and prevalent of any modern tongue. These Troubadours, who seem to have been the lineal successors of the scalds or bards, had followed in crowds to the Holy Land the princes and nobles by whom they were patronised. They had seen the riches and splendour of oriental cities, and the pomp of oriental princes; they had beheld the greatest scene of war that modern times had yet exhibited. They had seen the combined armies of Europe and of Asia encamp in the plains of Palestine; they had also seen them engage. Their imagination was inflamed by the sumptuous equipages, gorgeous banners, armorial insignia, and grand pavilions, in which the champions of the cross strove to excel each other; but still more by the enthusiastic valour of the combatants. They had seen many wonderful things, and heard many marvellous tales; and they gave to the whole, on their return, the colouring of poetic fancy, heightened by all the exaggerations of Asiatic imagery, and filled with all the extravagancies of Asiatic fiction⁶.

The ignorance and credulity of the age, the superstitious veneration paid to the heroes of the crusades, the dreadful ideas formed of the infidels, and the distance of country, made the wildest conceptions of the poet be received with all the avidity of truth. The romantic became the favourite mode of composition; and as every kingdom in Europe had its valorous knights, every kingdom soon had its romances: and every romance was nearly the same. Whether the scene was laid in ancient or in modern times, in Spain or in Syria, the same set of ideal beings were introduced, the same kind of plot was pursued, and the same manners were painted. A lady miraculously fair and chaste, and a knight more than humanly brave and constant, encountering monsters, and resisting the allurements of enchantresses, form the ground-work of all those unnatural compositions.

Modern poetry, however, did not long remain in this rude state. The romance, which had its rise in the manners of chivalry, and which rendered them still more romantic, fell into disrepute as soon as those manners began to decline. It was succeeded by the allegorical tale: in which the virtues and vices, appetites and passions, took the place of human beings, and were made subservient to the design of the poet. This shadowy production was followed by the Italian epic; which, like the heroic poem of the Greeks, consists of a compound of mortal, immor-

6 Among these may be numbered dwarfs, giants, dragons, and necromancers; but I am unwilling to give up to the East, with a certain learned critic, the honour of the beautiful invention of fairies. See Warton's *Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i.

tal and allegorical personages. Dantè, Ariosto, and Tasso, are supposed to have carried it to perfection.

Dantè, the father of Italian poetry, flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century. His *Inferno*, tho' full of extravagances, is one of the greatest efforts of human genius. No poem, ancient or modern, affords more striking instances of the true sublime and true pathetic⁷. He was succeeded by Petrarca and Boccaccio, who perfected the Italian language.

Petrarca was the first modern poet who wrote with classical elegance and purity. He appears to have been intimately acquainted with the beauties of the ancients, and to have studied their graces. His *Canzoni*, or lyric pieces, have often all the ease of Horace, and all the delicacy of Tibullus. In many of them, however, we discover a degree of that puerile conceit or affectation of wit, that perpetual effort to say something brilliant, which seems inseparable from Italian poetry; and the Platonic ideas with which all his passionate writings abound, though admired by his countrymen as a decent veil to love, give to his celebrated sonnets to Laura too much the air of hymns to a divinity, to interest the human heart. His elegy on the death of that lady, whose story is well known, has been deservedly admired. It partakes of the faults and of the beauties of all his compositions, as will appear from the following lines, translated by sir William Jones in the true spirit of the original :

“ Go, plaintive breeze, to Laura’s flow’ry bier
 “ Heave the warm sigh, and shed the tender tear.
 “ There to the awful shade due homage pay,
 “ And softly thus address the sacred clay :
 “ Say, envied earth, that dost those charms infold,
 “ Where are those cheeks, and where those locks of gold ?
 “ Where are those eyes, which oft the muse has sung ?
 “ Where those sweet lips, and that enchanting tongue ?
 “ Ye radiant tresses, and thou nectar’d smile,
 “ Ye looks that might the melting skies beguile,
 “ You robb’d my soul of rest, my eyes of sleep,
 “ You taught me how to love, and how to weep !”

⁷ Since the first publication of this work, Mr. Hayley has given to the world an *Essay on Epic Poetry*; a performance which abounds with good sense and sound criticism. And I am happy to find my opinion of the higher Italian poets supported by the suffrage of an author, who possesses so large a share of public favour. He thus concludes the character of Dantè, after judiciously observing, that he *raised to epic pomp his native tongue* :

“ Unequal spirit ! in thy various strain,
 “ With all their influence, light and darkness reign ;
 “ In thy strange verse and wayward theme, alike,
 “ New forms of beauty and disorder strike ;
 “ Extremes of harmony and discord dwell,
 “ The seraph’s music and the dæmon’s yell !
 “ The patient reader, to thy merit just,
 “ With transport glows, and shudders with disgust.
 “ Thy failings spring from thy disastrous time ;
 “ Thy stronger beauties from a soul sublime,
 “ Whose vigour bursts, like the volcano’s flame,
 “ From central darkness to the sphere of fame.”

Essay on Epic Poetry, Epist. iii.

Boccaccio has great and various merit. He is chiefly known as a prose writer; and his prose compositions are superior, in purity of diction, to those of any other Italian author. But if his modesty had not led him to commit to the flames his poetical performances, from an apprehension of their inferiority to those of his master Petrarca, he might possibly have appeared no less considerable as a poet. One piece, which paternal tenderness preserved, and three more that escaped the general ruin, give reason for this opinion. The favourite piece is entitled the *Theseid*; and although, like all the poems of that age, it confounds ancient and modern manners, time and ceremonies, it possesses so many native beauties as to leave criticism only room for admiration. It is of the heroic kind; and the fable is better constructed, and filled with more interesting incidents, than that of any other Italian poem of the same period*. It has been rendered into English, with alterations and additions by Chaucer, under the name of the *Knight's Tale*; and, as modernised by Dryden, is perhaps the most animated and truly harmonious piece of versification, of the same extent, in our language.

The reputation of Boccaccio, however, with the world in general, is chiefly founded on his *Decameron*, which is truly an enchanting work. It contains a greater number of good tales, of the gay and humorous kind, than had ever before appeared. —The most celebrated moderns, in that walk; have borrowed from it their best pieces. Chaucer and Fontaine, though they lived at the distance of almost three hundred years from each other, are equally indebted to the *Decameron*. Those tales of Boccaccio, which may be considered as the most early gleanings of popular anecdote, are the first modern compositions that give us any just idea of the manners of domestic life; and both the style in which they are related, and the subjects which they unfold, prove that civilisation was then in an advanced state in Italy.

But Italy was not the only country where civilisation had made advances. The English court was, in that age, the most splendid in Europe, and one of the most polished. Thither many accomplished foreigners resorted to behold the grandeur, and to enjoy the bounty of the third Edward. The spoils of France swelled the pomp of England in his reign; while a captive king, and his unfortunate nobles, civilised its manners, by accustoming his haughty and insolent barons to the exercise of

8 “ The gay Boccaccio tempts the Italian muse,
 “ More varied notes and diff’rent themes to choose;
 “ Themes which her voice had dar’d not yet to sound,
 “ Valour’s heroic feats by beauty crown’d.”

Essay on Epic Poetry, Epist. iii.

mutual complaisance. Edward himself, and the black prince, were the examples of all that was great in arms, or gallant in courtesy. They were the patrons and the mirror of chivalry. The stately castle of Windsor, built in this illustrious reign, saw the round table of king Arthur restored, and the order of the garter instituted: that glorious tribute to gallantry, and sacred badge of honour. Tilts, tournaments, and pageants, were constantly exhibited, and with a magnificence formerly unknown.

The ladies, who thronged the court of Edward, and crowded to such spectacles, arrayed in the richest habits, were the judges in those peaceful, though not always bloodless combats; and the victorious knight, in receiving from the hand of beauty the reward of his prowess, became desirous of exciting other passions beside that of admiration. He began to turn his eyes from fancy to the heart. He aspired at an interest in the seat of the affections. Instead of the cold consent of virtue, he sought the warm return of love; instead of acquiescence, he demanded sensibility. Female pride was roused at such a request; assiduities and attentions were employed to sooth it; and nature and custom, vanity and feeling, were long at war in the breast of woman. During this sentimental struggle, which had its rise in a more rational mode of thinking, which opened a greater freedom of intercourse, and terminated in our present familiar manners, the two sexes polished each other: the men acquired more softness and address, the women more knowledge and graces.

In a reign of so much heroism and gallantry, the muses were not likely to sleep. Geoffery Chaucer, the father of English poetry, was the brightest ornament of Edward's court. He added, to a lively genius and a learned education, a thorough knowledge of life and manners. He was perfectly a man of the world; had frequently visited France and Italy, and sometimes with the advantage of a public character. He had studied the Italian and Provençal poets, was intimately acquainted with both languages, and attempted with success all the kinds of poetry then in use. Beside the *Theseid*, he translated, and greatly improved, the allegorical poem called the *Romance of the Rose*, written by William of Lorris and John of Meun, two celebrated French poets of those times: and he composed the *Canterbury Tales* after the model of the *Decameron*. They abound with true humour and pleasantry; and, though chiefly borrowed, entitle their author to a distinguished rank among the writers of his age. The prologues, in particular, which are wholly his own, contain a vein of moral satire that has not hitherto been exceeded.

This eminent poet had several disadvantages to struggle with,

particularly that which depended on language. William the Conqueror had attempted to extirpate the English tongue. The Norman language was ordered to be used in all public writings, and taught in all public schools. It was also the dialect of the court. That badge of slavery had remained almost three hundred years, before it was abolished by Edward III. Chaucer had therefore to create, or at least to form, a new dialect. This circumstance ought always to be attended to in contemplating the writings of our venerable bard, as it alone can account for the great disparity observable, after all his diligence, between the progress of English manners and of the English language. Had things continued to proceed in their natural order, Chaucer's style would now have been nearly as intelligible as that of Shakspeare.

But this bright dawn of English literature and English refinement was deeply obscured by the civil wars that followed, and which continued, with little interruption, till the accession of Henry VII. During that long period of anarchy, genius went to decay; and the animosities of faction had rendered the manners of the people almost altogether savage. The severity of Henry's temper and government was little calculated to promote either letters or politeness; and the religious disputes which took place under the reign of his son, were a new obstacle to civilisation. Chaucer had no successor worthy of himself till the days of Elizabeth.

Similar circumstances obstructed the progress of literature in France till the reign of Francis I., who is deservedly styled the Father of the French muses. *Chants Royaux*, *Balades*, *Rondeaux*, and *Pastorales*, had taken place of the Provençal poetry about the beginning of the fourteenth century; but Froissart, who cultivated with success this *New Poetry*, as it was called, cannot be considered equal to William of Lorris or John of Meun. The *Romance of the Rose* was still the finest French poem.

Genius, in the mean time, continued to advance, with giant strides in Italy. A succession of great poets followed Dantè in the highest walk of the Muse: at length appeared Ariosto and Tasso, the glory of the sixteenth century, and whose celebrated works are supposed to contain all that is excellent in poetry. The *Orlando* of Ariosto is a wonderful production. It is formed upon the Gothic plan, if it can be said to have any, and consequently is wild and extravagant; but it comprehends so many and such various beauties, that whether considered as a whole or in parts, it commands our fondest admiration⁹. The

9 " High in mid air, between the moon and earth,
 " The bard of pathos now, and now of mirth,
 " Poised with his lyre between a griffin's wings,
 " Her sportive darling, Ariosto sings.

Jerusalem of Tasso is a more classical performance. It is constructed after the Grecian model; and adds, to an interesting and happily conducted fable, a number of striking and well-drawn characters, all operating to one end, together with a profusion of beautiful machinery, affecting situations, sublime images, and bold descriptions¹⁰. Voltaire prefers the first to the *Odyssey*, and the second to the *Iliad* of Homer; but you, I hope, have a juster taste of solid elegance, and of what is truly great in nature and in poetry, than to be swayed by such an opinion.

The progress of genius in Italy, however, during this period, was not confined to poetry, and still less to one species of it. Petrarca and Boccaccio had their successors, as well as Dantè. The dramatic talent began to disclose itself. Both tragedy and comedy were attempted with success before the middle of the sixteenth century; but that musical drama, which has long been so general in Italy, and which, in excluding too often nature and probability, has enlarged the bounds of harmony, was then in its infancy.

Music is one of the first sciences that are cultivated, and one of the last which are perfected in any country. The rude tale of the bard is accompanied with the wild notes of his voice and harp, to atone for his want of ideas, and engage attention; but, as fable becomes more extensive and rich, the legendary poet disdains to court the ear with any thing but the harmony of his numbers. He relies for interest solely on the powers of imagination and sentiment; and these, without any adventitious aid, produce their effect upon a people civilised, but not corrupted. The dramatic writer, in like manner, obtains his end, for a time, by the happy disposition of plot, the force of dialogue, and the strength and variety of his characters. But, in proportion as mankind became more refined, they became more effeminate,

“As the light cloud, whose varying vapours fly,

“Driv’n by the zephyr of the evening sky,

“Fixes and charms the never-wearied view,

“By taking ev’ry shape and ev’ry hue;

“So, by Variety’s supreme control,

“His changeful numbers seize the willing soul.”

Hayley’s *Essay on Epic Poetry*, Epist. iii.

¹⁰ After having characterised Ariosto, Mr. Hayley proceeds thus, in perfect conformity with the text:

“Of chaster fire a rival name succeeds,

“Whose bold and glowing hand religion leads;

“In solemn accent and in sacred state,

“With classic lore and Christian zeal elate,

“Sweetly pathetic and sublimely strong,

“Tasso begins his more majestic song;

“The Muse of Zion, not implor’d in vain,

“Guides to th’ impassioned soul his heavenly strain.”

Hayley’s *Essay on Epic Poetry*, Epist. iii.

and the luxury of harmony is found necessary to give to theatrical representation its proper influence. Then, and not till then, does the musical science attain perfection; and then poetry begins to decline. Every thing is sung; every thing is composed to be warbled through the eunuch's throat, and sense is sacrificed to sound.

A similar observation may be extended to history. The deeds of the hero are the first objects of human curiosity; yet mankind, in almost every country, have ceased to act with dignity before their actions have been properly recorded. Truth appears cold and insipid to a people inclined to wonder, and wonder is the predominant passion of all uncivilised nations. Fiction is called in to gratify it; and fable is for a time received as history. But when men are more employed in political objects, they become more desirous of being informed than amazed: they wish to know the real actions of their ancestors, and the causes and the consequences of such actions. The historian takes advantage of this disposition of mind to procure admission to his labours; but, as it is more difficult to ascertain facts than to assume them, and easier to assign motives of action, and deduce incidents ingeniously from them, than to trace the motives of men in their actions, and give to truth such a degree of colouring as will make it interesting, without rendering its validity suspected, history has every where been later in attaining perfection than the highest works of imagination.

Italy had at last her historians, and excellent ones. Machiavel successfully courted the comic muse, unfolded the principles of a dark and pernicious policy, and digested the annals of his native country with all the discernment of Tacitus; while Guicciardini, a more amiable writer, related the transactions of his own times with the elegance and exactness of Thucydides.

Philosophy only was requisite, in the sixteenth century, to bring Italy within the line of comparison with ancient Greece, when Greece was in her glory. A number of independent and free states vied with each other in all the elegant and commercial arts; in wealth and in luxury, in manners and in talents, in pomp and in power. Proud of her privileges, and of her liberal acquisitions, she looked down with contempt upon every other country, and branded all other nations with the name of barbarians. Two great monarchs, like those of Persia and Macedon, were contending who should be her master. She wanted only the lights of philosophy to render the parallel complete. Bewildered in the mazes of scholastic reasoning, or lost in the dreams of perverted Platonism, her sages were still alike ignorant of the system of man and of the universe. And before they could know either, it was necessary that the veil of superstition

should be rent ; that mankind, beholding the puppet to which they had kneeled, and by which they had been overawed, might fearlessly look through the range of nature, and contemplate its physical and moral order.

LETTER LIX.

Of the progress of Navigation, particularly among the Portuguese ; the Discoveries and Settlements of that nation on the Coast of Africa, and in the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope ; the Discovery of America by the Spaniards, the Settlement of the West Indies, and the Conquest of Mexico and Peru ; with some Reflections on the moral and political Consequences of those great Events.

FROM the arts that polish nations, my dear son, let us turn our eyes more particularly towards those that aggrandise them ; which supply the wants of one people with the superfluities of another, and make all things common to all. Such are navigation and commerce. By these, and the arts to which they gave birth, the Phœnicians and Carthaginians crowded with cities their barren shores, and attained the first rank among ancient nations ; by these, in latter times, the Venetians and Dutch, struggling from dirt and sea-weed, crowned with palaces their lakes and marshes, and became, at different æras, the most opulent and powerful people in modern Europe : by these Britain now governs the ocean, while she wafts from pole to pole the luxuries and conveniences of life.

The navigation of Europe, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, though much improved since the age of Charlemagne, was chiefly confined to the Mediterranean and Baltic seas, and was little more than what is now called *coasting*. Flanders was the great theatre of commerce. Thither the Italian states conveyed, from the ports of Egypt, the precious commodities of the East : and thither the Hanseatic merchants carried, from the shores of the Baltic, the naval stores and other rude merchandise of the north. To this common mart all European nations resorted. Here they sold or exchanged the produce of their several countries, and supplied all their wants without dreaming of new ports, or suspecting that the system of commerce could be altered. Dantzic, Lisbon, and Alexandria, continued to mark the limits of practical navigation ; when the enlightened and enterprising genius of Don Henry of Portugal extended the views

of the mariner, and emboldened him to pilot the Atlantic or great Western Ocean. But before I speak of that prince, and the discoveries which he accomplished, I must say a few words of his country, which I have hitherto considered only as an appendage of Spain.

Portugal had no existence as a separate state till towards the close of the eleventh century. About that time Alphonso VI., king of Castile and Leon, having wrested from the Moors the northern provinces of the present kingdom of Portugal, bestowed them, with his natural daughter, upon Henry of Burgundy, a noble volunteer, who had assisted him in his wars. Henry took only the title of count; but his son Alphonso, having recovered other provinces from the Moors, assumed the regal dignity in 1139. The kings of Portugal, like those of Spain, long spent their force in combating the Moors, and had no connexion with the rest of Europe. A detail of those barbarous wars would be equally void of instruction and amusement. I shall therefore only observe that the succession continued uninterrupted in the line of Burgundy till the death of Ferdinand, in 1383; when John of Castile, who had married the infanta of Portugal, A. D. 1385. claimed the crown, as the king had left no male issue. But the states of Portugal, after an interregnum of eighteen months, gave it to John, brother of their deceased sovereign, and at that time regent of the kingdom¹.

This John, surnamed the Bastard, no less politic than enterprising, proved worthy of his new dignity. He was the first European prince who formed a respectable navy, which he employed, with equal success, in annoying his enemies, and in protecting his subjects. He took Ceuta from the Moors, and over- A. D. 1414. awed the states of Barbary during his whole reign. He had several sons, who all signalised themselves by their valour and abilities; but more especially the third, Don Henry, whose bold heart and intelligent mind, influenced by the reports of travellers, led him to project discoveries in the Western Ocean.

This amiable prince, who joined the virtues of a hero and a patriot to the knowledge of a philosopher, turned to use that astronomy which the Arabs had preserved. He had a considerable share in the invention of the astrolabe, and first perceived the advantage that might be derived from the direction of the magnetic needle to the North; which, though already known in Europe, had not hitherto been employed effectually in navigation. He established an observatory at Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, where many persons were instructed in astronomy and the art of sailing. The pilots formed under his eye not only dou-

¹ Neufville, Hist. Gen. de Portugal.

bled Cape Non, long supposed an insurmountable barrier, but advanced as far as Cape Bajador, and in their return discovered the island of Madeira. Other pilots, yet more bold, were sent out. They doubled Cape Bajador, Cape Blanco, Cape Verd, and at last Cape Sierra Leona, within eight degrees of the line, before the death of Don Henry. In the course of these voyages, the Azores and Cape Verd islands had been discovered, and the vine and the sugar-cane introduced into the island of Madeira, and there cultivated with success. A. D. 1420.
A. D. 1463.

In the reign of John II., a prince of profound sagacity and extensive views, who first made Lisbon a free port, the Portuguese prosecuted their discoveries with equal ardour and success. The river Zara, on the other side of the line, conducted them to the kingdom of Congo, in the less known part of Africa, where they made easy conquests, and established an advantageous commerce. Captain Diaz passed the extreme point of Africa, to which he gave the name of the *Stormy Cape*; but the king, who saw more fully the importance of that discovery, styled it the *Cape of Good Hope*. A. D. 1484.
A. D. 1486.

Emmanuel pursued the great projects of his predecessors. He sent out a fleet of four ships under the command of Vasco de Gama, in order to complete the passage to India by sea. This admiral possessed all the knowledge and talents necessary for such an expedition. After being assailed by tempests, he doubled the cape of Good Hope, and ranging through unknown seas, happily arrived at the city of Calicut on the coast of Malabar². A. D. 1491.

Calicut was at that time the emporium of India. Thither the Arabs resorted for all the rich products and precious manufactures of the East. These they carried in ships to the ports of the Red Sea, and sold at Alexandria to the Italian merchants. This information Gama had received at Melinda, on the coast of Zanguebar; and he there engaged a pilot, who conducted him into the harbour of Calicut, when the trade was at its height. Here he fortunately met with a native of Barbary, named Monzaida, who understood the Portuguese language, and whose admiration of that people overbalanced the prejudices of religion and country. This admiration determined Monzaida to do every thing in his power to serve strangers who ambosomed themselves to him without reserve. He procured Gama an audience of the samorin or emperor, who received him very favourably; and a treaty of commerce was set on foot in the name of the king of Portugal. But this negotiation, when almost

completed, was broken off by the jealousy of the Arabs. They represented so strongly the danger of such an alliance, and the ambition of the Portuguese, that the samorin took the ungenerous resolution of putting to death those bold navigators, whom he had lately treated with kindness, and whose friendship he seemed to desire. Informed of his danger by the faithful Monzaida, Gama sent his brother on board the fleet. "Should you hear," said he, "of my death or imprisonment, I prohibit you, as your commander, from attempting to release me or to avenge my fate. Set sail immediately, and inform the king of the success of our voyage. I am happy in having performed his orders, and discovered a passage to India for Portugal³." Fortunately, however, matters were not pushed to that extremity. Gama lived to carry to Portugal the news of his own success. The samorin permitted him to join his fleet, and he departed soon after for Europe.

No language can express the joy of the Portuguese on the return of Gama to Lisbon. They saw themselves, A. D. 1499. by one daring enterprise, in possession of the richest commerce in the world; and, no less superstitious than avaricious, they flattered themselves with the prospect of extending their religion with their dominion.

The pope further encouraged this hope. Glad of an occasion of asserting his universal sovereignty, he granted to the Portuguese all the countries which they had discovered, or should discover, in the east, on condition that they should there plant the catholic faith. The whole nation was seized with the enthusiasm of conversion and of conquest. They presented themselves in crowds to man the new fleet destined for India: and thirteen ships sailed, as soon as the season would permit, from the Tagus to Calicut, under the command of Alvarez de Cabral. A. D. 1500.

This admiral in his passage keeping out to sea, in order to avoid the calms on the coast of Africa, and the storms which had been met with in doubling the cape of Good Hope, discovered the rich country now called Brasil, to which he gave the name of the *Land of the Holy Cross*. He took possession of it in the name of the king his master, and proceeded on his voyage. When he arrived at the coast of Malabar, the samorin made him an offer of friendship, and invited him to Calicut, where he had an audience of that Indian prince, and was permitted to open a magazine of commerce. But this good understanding was of short duration. The Arabs again found means to poison the mind of the samorin: the admiral did not behave

with the greatest discretion: mutual jealousies and fears arose, and mutual injuries followed. At last the inhabitants of Calicut murdered fifty Portuguese, and burned their magazine. This act of hostility did not escape unpunished. Cabral, in revenge of such a breach of faith, and such undermining perfidy, destroyed all the Arabian vessels in the port, beat down great part of the city, and left it in flames⁴.

After this second rupture with the samorin, the measures of the Portuguese in India were totally changed. The peaceful system of Gama was laid aside: the maxims of mutual advantage gave place to those of violence, and commerce was established by the sword. Cabral leaving Calicut, entered into a negotiation with the kings of Cochin, Cananor, Onor, and other princes, who were tributaries of the samorin, and desirous of independence. This love of freedom ^{A. D. 1501.} procured the Portuguese the sovereignty of Malabar, and the trade of India. Cabral promised support to those deluded princes, and carried their ambassadors to the court of Lisbon, where such politic steps were taken as rendered success infallible. A force was sent out sufficient to combat the samorin. But no prince could obtain the protection ^{A. D. 1502.} of Portugal without first acknowledging himself its vassal, permitting a fortress to be erected in his capital, and selling his commodities to its subjects at their own price. No foreign merchant might take a cargo, till the Portuguese were served; nor any mariner cruise in those seas, but with their passports. They were the terror and admiration of the East, the wonder and envy of the West. All European merchants soon resorted to Lisbon for Indian commodities; because they could there purchase them at a much lower rate than at Venice ^{A. D. 1508.} or any other mart to which they were brought by the way of Egypt. And, happily for Portugal, the Venetians were then sinking under the pressure of the league of Cambray.

In order to secure and render perpetual these momentous advantages, the chief command in India was given to Alphonso Albuquerque, a man of uncommon sagacity and penetration, and distinguished by his talents both for war and politics. He was no sooner invested with the government, than he began to form grand projects, which he executed with astonishing facility. The Arabs settled in India, and their associates, he had long been sensible, were the only power in the East that the Portuguese had to fear. These traders had secretly entered into a league with the samorin, the soltan of Egypt, and the Venetians, who were gainers by their commerce, and whose interest it was to destroy the trade of Portugal. The furnishers of

⁴ Maffei Hist. Indic. lib. ii. cap. iv.

the caravans, and navigators of the Red Sea, were the natural enemies of the circumnavigators of the Cape. Albuquerque saw it early, while a private commander. He had therefore done every thing in his power to ruin their settlements on the coast of Arabia, and their united naval force had received a signal overthrow in the Indian Ocean. He now extended his views, and projected the conquest of Ormus in the Persian Gulf, and of Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea, where Portuguese squadrons stationed, might command the trade of Persia and of Egypt.

The immediate execution of these projects would at once have proved fatal to the commerce of the Arabs and their allies;

A. D. 1519. but Albuquerque, upon mature deliberation, perceived the expediency of establishing the Portuguese more fully on the coast of Malabar, before he divided his forces. He accordingly destroyed Calicut; and, observing that the Portuguese had yet no good port in a wholesome air, where they might refit their ships and recruit their seamen after the fatigues of the voyage from Europe, he resolved to procure one. He found that Lisbon had need of Goa.

Goa, which rises to view in the form of an amphitheatre, is situated towards the middle of the coast of Malabar, in an island detached from the continent by two branches of a river that throws itself into the sea at some distance from the city, after having formed beneath its walls one of the finest harbours in the world. It properly belonged to the king of Decan; but a Moor, to whom the government of it had been entrusted, had rendered himself its sovereign. While this usurper was occupied on the continent, Albuquerque appeared
A. D. 1510. before the city and carried it by assault⁵. It was afterwards recovered, but soon retaken; and it became the capital of the Portuguese empire in India.

Albuquerque, whose ambition was boundless, attempted next to establish the Portuguese on the coast of Coromandel. With
A. D. 1511. this view he made an attack upon Malacca, situated near the strait of Singapore, one of the richest cities in India, and the best adapted for commerce. It was the centre of the trade between Japan, China, the Spice islands, and the other Indian ports. When Albuquerque appeared before Malacca, he found it in a posture of defence; and a new obstacle conspired to retard his progress. His friend Araujo was there a prisoner, and was threatened with death the moment the city should be besieged. Deliberating how to act, while the sentiments of friendship and ambition, perhaps of duty, struggled in his breast, he received the following billet from Araujo: "Think only of the glory and advantage of Portugal: if I

⁵ Laflou, Hist. des Conq. des Port.—Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tome I.

“cannot be an instrument of your victory, let me not retard it.” The place was carried by storm, after an obstinate defence and several changes of fortune. The Portuguese found in it an immense booty, both in treasure and valuable commodities. Albuquerque, whose heart was superior to the charms of gold, erected a citadel to secure his conquest, and returned to Goa.

The friendship of the Portuguese was now courted by the most powerful Indian princes, who offered to permit fortresses to be built, and factories to be established in any part of their dominions. Albuquerque did not fail to profit by these offers; and judging that the season was now arrived for giving the final blow to the Arabian commerce in the East, he commenced the execution of his schemes for the conquest of Aden and of Ormus. In his attempt upon Aden, he miscarried: but he committed so many ravages on the coasts of the A. D. 1513. Red Sea, and in the straits of Babelmandel, as ruined the commerce of the Arabs and Egyptians. He was more successful in his expedition against Ormus, at that time the most opulent and splendid city in the East. It appears to have been nearly equal to ancient Tyre in wealth and in splendour; and, like Tyre, it was seated in a barren isle. Like Tyre, it seemed only to have been disjoined from the land, that it might become queen of the sea. It was one of the greatest marts in the universe. But its voluptuous inhabitants were little able to withstand A. D. 1515. the impetuous and hardy valour of the Portuguese. Albuquerque soon made himself master of the place, and had the honour of there receiving an embassy from the king of Persia*.

The reduction of Ormus, with the possession of Goa and Malacca, gave perfect security to the Portuguese commerce in India. The successors of Albuquerque extended it to China and Japan; but it was never more respectable than under him. Yet this founder of his country's greatness died in disgrace, and of a broken heart. That dauntless spirit which had encountered so many enemies, and surmounted so many dangers, could not support the frown of his prince. Emmanuel, jealous of his glory, had listened to the insinuations of his enemies; had appointed another governor in his stead: and promoted those whom he sent home as criminals. When Albuquerque received this intelligence, he sighed and said, “Can these things be true?—I incurred the hatred of men by my love for the king, and am disgraced by him through his prepossession for other men: to the grave, unhappy old man! to the grave!—thy actions will speak for themselves and for thee.”

* Guyon, Hist. des Ind. Orient. tome i.—Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tome i.

7 Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tome i.

While the Portuguese were thus employed in making acquisitions in the East, and appropriating to themselves the most lucrative commerce in the known world, the Spaniards had discovered a new continent toward the West. They had called into existence, as it were, another world : had opened new sources of trade ; expanded new theatres of dominion : and displayed new scenes of ambition, of avarice, and of blood.

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese navigator, who resided at Lisbon, and who had devoted himself to the study of astronomy, first conceived the idea of this new continent. Perfectly acquainted with the figure of the earth, the notion of the Antipodes, considered by reason as a chimera, and by religion as impiety, appeared to him an incontestible fact. But, if he had not added the stout heart of a hero to the enlightened mind and persevering spirit of a philosopher, the world might still have been ignorant of his discoveries. The Genoese, whom he proposed to put in possession of another hemisphere, treated him as a dreamer. He also unfolded his project, the grandest that human genius ever formed, to the court of Portugal, without success. He then communicated it to the court of Spain ; where he long suffered all that supercilious neglect which unsupported merit so often meets with from men in office, who are too apt to despise what they do not understand.

Ferdinand and Isabella were then engaged in the conquest of Granada, and the Spanish treasury was nearly exhausted. But no sooner were the Moors subdued, than the ambitious mind of Isabella seemed to sympathise with the bold spirit of Columbus. She offered to pledge her jewels, in order to furnish him with a fleet. Three small vessels were fitted out by other means ; and Columbus set sail from the port of Palos, in Andalusia, on the third of August, 1492, in quest of a western continent, with the title of Admiral and Viceroy of the Isles and Lands which he should discover^s.

Transcendant genius and superlative courage, experience almost equal difficulty in carrying their designs into execution, when they depend on the assistance of others. Columbus possessed both—he exerted both ; and the concurrence of other heads and other hearts were necessary to give success to either ; he had indolence and cowardice to encounter, as well as ignorance and prejudice. He had formerly been ridiculed as a visionary enthusiast : he was now pitied as a desperado. The Portuguese navigators, in accomplishing their first discoveries, had always some reference to the coast ; cape had pointed them to cape ; but Columbus, with no land-mark but the heavens, nor any guide but the compass, boldly launched into the ocean with

out knowing what shore should receive him, or where he could find rest for the sole of his foot. His crew murmured—they mutinied: they proposed to commit him to those waves with which he so wantonly sported, and return to Spain⁹.

This was a severe trial to the courage of Columbus; but the enthusiasm of genius added strength to his natural fortitude. Cool and unconcerned himself about every thing but his great object, he had recourse to the softest language. He encouraged his men by fair promises, he deceived his officers by false reckonings. But these expedients proving at last ineffectual, he demanded an indulgence of three days, at the end of which, if he did not discover land, he promised to abandon his project. His request was granted; and on the morning of the second day, being the 12th of October, to his inexpressible joy, he descried one of the Bahama islands, to which he gave the name of San Salvador¹⁰. He soon after fell in with several other small islands, to one of which he gave the appellation of Isabella, and to another that of Ferdinand. These he rightly judged to belong to that western continent which he sought, and which he conjectured must reach to the Portuguese settlement in India: hence arose the name of *West Indies*. At length he arrived at the island of Cuba, where he entered into some correspondence with the natives, and particularly with the women, from whom he learned, that the gold ornaments which they wore came from Bohio, a large island to the south-east. Thither Columbus steered: what heart does not pant for gold? He soon reached Bohio, or Hayti, as it was called by the natives, to which he gave the name of Espagnola, altered by us to Hispaniola. Here he erected a fort, and planted a little colony; after which, having taken a general survey of the island, and settled a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants, he set out on his return to Spain, carrying with him a sufficient quantity of gold to evince the importance of his discoveries, and some of those new people to complete the astonishment of Europe.

The natives of Hispaniola, and indeed of all the islands which Columbus had visited, were an easy, indolent, harmless race. They were of a copper colour. The men and the girls went entirely naked: the women had a mat of cotton wrapped about their loins. They had no hair on any part of their body but the head; a distinction which also is common to the natives of the American continent. They considered the Spaniards as divinities, and the discharge of the artillery as their thunder; they fell on their faces at the sound. The women, however, seem very early to have had less awful apprehensions of their new

⁹ Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, lib. iii.

¹⁰ Life of Columbus, chap. xxiii.

guests : for they no sooner saw them than they offered their favours, and courted their embraces as men¹¹. Some wicked wit may indeed say, that women from the beginning have been fond of superior beings ; and, if we credit ancient story, they have often good reason for such fondness. Be that as it may, it is certain that the women of Hispaniola were fonder of the Spaniards than of their husbands. Their husbands were not jealous of them. And in the arms of those wantons the companions of Columbus are said to have caught that fatal malady which has strewed with new thorns the paths of love ; and which, if human happiness is to be computed by the balance of pain and pleasure, will be found to be more than a counterpoise to all the gold of Mexico, the silver of Peru, and the diamonds of Brasil.

But let not this misfortune be adduced as a charge against the great navigator. He could not know that the new hemisphere contained new maladies ; he could not foresee, that he should import into Europe a distemper that would poison the springs of life ; which would propagate disease from generation to generation, emasculate the vigour of nations, and alarmingly multiply the miseries of mankind !—And, happily for him, his enemies were ignorant of it at his return. He re-entered the port of Palos, on the 15th of March, 1493, and was received with universal acclamations of joy. Those who had ridiculed his project, were the most ready to pay court to him. In the presence of Ferdinand and Isabella, he was desired to sit covered like a grandee of Spain ; and while royal favour beamed upon him, the church loaded him with its benedictions. Superstition lent its sanction to those discoveries which had been made in its defiance. Pope Alexander VI. issued a bull, granting to the sovereigns of Spain all the countries which they had discovered, or should discover, a hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores. A fleet of seventeen sail was fitted out in a few months ; and Columbus, invested with yet more extensive powers, and furnished with every thing necessary for discovery, colonisation, or conquest, again committed himself to the waves in quest of a western continent¹².

Great things were expected from this second voyage ; and many new islands were discovered : yet it ended in general disappointment, misfortune, and disgust. When Columbus arrived at Hispaniola, with a multitude of missionaries, soldiers, and settlers, he found the fortresses utterly ruined, and the garrison all massacred. They had drawn upon themselves this untimely fate by their arrogance, licentiousness, and tyranny. These particulars he learned from the natives, accompanied with such marking circumstances, as left him no room to disbelieve them. He

11 Herrera, dec. i.

12 Life of Columbus, chap. xlii. xliii.

therefore entered once more into friendly correspondence with those artless people, established a new colony, and built the town of Isabella—afterwards abandoned for that of St. Domingo, which became the capital of the island. His next care was to discover the mines : near which he erected forts, and left garrisons to protect the labourers. But neither the wisdom nor the humanity of this great man were sufficient to preserve order among his followers, or to teach them fellow-feeling. They roused anew, by their barbarities, the gentle spirit of the natives; they quarrelled among themselves; they rose against their commander. Mortified by so many untoward circumstances, Columbus committed the government of the island to his brother Bartholomew, and returned to Spain in 1496, with some samples of gold dust and ore, pearls, and other precious products¹³.

Bartholomew Columbus suffered many hardships, and was on the point of sinking under the mutineers, before he received any assistance from the court of Spain ; and although the great Christopher was able to clear himself of all the aspersions of his enemies, some years elapsed before he could obtain a third appointment for the prosecution of his favourite project. At last a small fleet was granted him, and he discovered the continent of America, near the mouth of the river Oronoco, on the first of August, 1498. He carried off six of the natives, and returned to Hispaniola, convinced that he had now reached the great object of his ambition.

But while Columbus was employed in reducing to obedience the mutineers in that island, another navigator unjustly took from him the honour of the discovery of the Western Continent. The merchants of Seville having obtained permission to attempt discoveries, as private adventurers, sent out four ships in 1499, under the command of Alonzo de Ojeda, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, assisted by Americus Vesputius, a Florentine, skilled in the science of navigation. This fleet touched on the part of the western continent already discovered by Columbus, whose course Ojeda followed ; and Americus, who was a man of great address, as well as of considerable literary talents, by publishing the first voyages on the subject, and other artful means, gave his name to the New World, in prejudice to the illustrious Genoese¹⁴. Mankind are now become sensible of the imposture, but time has sanctified the error ; and the great Western Continent, or fourth division of the globe, so long unknown to the inhabitants of Europe, Asia, and Africa, still continues to be distinguished by the name of AMERICA.

13 Herrera, dec. i. lib. iii.

14 Herr. dec. i. lib. iv.

This, however, was but a small misfortune in comparison of what Columbus was doomed to suffer. His enemies having prevailed at the court of Madrid, a new governor was sent out to Hispaniola. The great discoverer and his brother were loaded with irons, and sent home in that condition in different ships. Touched with sentiments of veneration and pity, Valejo, captain of the vessel on board of which the admiral was confined, approached his prisoner with profound respect, as soon as he was clear of the island, and offered to strike off the fetters with which he was unjustly bound. "No, Valejo!"—replied Columbus, with a generous indignation, "I wear these fetters in consequence of an order from my sovereigns. They shall find me as obedient to this, as to all their other injunctions. By their command I have been confined, and their command alone shall set me at liberty¹⁵."

The Spanish ministry were ashamed of the severity of their creature, Bovadilla: Columbus was set at liberty on his arrival, and a fourth command granted him in 1502, for the prosecution of farther discoveries. But this expedition did not prove more fortunate than the former: for, although Columbus touched at several parts of the American continent, where he exchanged trinkets for gold and pearls, to a considerable amount, he failed in an attempt to establish a colony on the river Yebra, or Belem, in the province of Veragua, and lost every thing in his course home. He was shipwrecked on the island of Jamaica: his followers mutinied; and, after being alternately in danger of perishing by hunger or by violence, he arrived in Spain, in 1505, to experience a more severe fate than either. Queen Isabella was dead at his return. With her all his hopes of future favour perished. The court received him coldly. His services were too great for humility; his proud heart disdained to sue, and his high spirit could not submit to neglect. He retired to Valladolid, when he died, in 1506, a martyr to the ingratitude of that monarch to whom he had given the West Indies, and for whom he had opened a passage into a richer and more extensive empire than was ever subdued by the Roman arms¹⁶.

There is something in true genius which seems to be essentially connected with humanity. Don Henry, Gama, and Columbus, prosecuted their discoveries upon the most liberal principles, those of mutual advantage; they sought to benefit, not to destroy, their species. After the death of Columbus, the maxims of Spain, like those of Portugal, became altogether bloody. Religion, avarice, and violence, walked hand in hand. The cross was held up as an object of worship to those who had ne-

15 Life of Columbus, chap. xxviii.

16 Life of Columbus.—Herrera.

ver heard of the name of Jesus ; and millions were deliberately butchered, for not embracing tenets which they could not understand, not delivering treasures which they did not possess, or not suffering oppressions which man was never born to bear, and which his nature cannot sustain¹⁷.

The leader who pursued these new maxims with the least violence to humanity, and the greatest advantage to his country, was Fernando Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico. Before the discovery of that rich and powerful empire, the Spanish colonies of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, were in a flourishing condition : frequent expeditions had been made to the continent, and settlements established in Castilla del Oro and on the Isthmus of Darien. At last a descent was made in the gulf of Mexico, and information received of the opulence and grandeur of the emperor Montezuma and his capital. Velasquez, governor of Cuba, immediately, resolved upon the conquest of Mexico, and committed to Cortez the execution of the enterprise ; and that gallant soldier is said to have accomplished, what appears too bold even for fiction, the overthrow of an empire that could send millions into the field, with so small a force as five hundred men¹⁸.

A success so unexampled, in an unknown country, must have been accompanied with many favourable circumstances, independent of the ability of the general, the courage of the troops, and even the superiority of weapons. Some of these we know. When Cortez landed with his little army on the coast of Mexico, he met with a Spanish captive, who understood the dialect of the country, and whose ransom he obtained. He also formed an intimacy with a fair American named Mariana, who soon learned the Castilian language, and became both his mistress and counsellor. Her attachment communicated itself to all the Mexican women, who were generally neglected by their husbands for the most abominable of all debaucheries ; that which perverts the animal instinct, confounds the distinction of sex, and defeats the leading purpose of nature. While the men opposed their naked breasts to the weapons of the Spaniards, fell by their blows, or fled from their fury, the women every where flew to their embrace, and rendered them all the services in their power.

To these fortunate occurrences may be added, the arrival of the ambassadors of Montezuma, who endeavoured, by presents, to engage the invaders to re-embark. The delay which this negotiation produced, was of infinite service to Cortez. An army, instead of an embassy, on his first landing, might have ruined

17 Bart. de las Casas. Relat. de la Dest. de las Indias

18 De Solis. lib. ii.—Herrera. dec. ii.

him. He replied, that he was only an ambassador himself, and, as such, could not depart without an audience of the emperor. This answer put the ambassadors of Montezuma to a stand. They reported it to the emperor. He was alarmed at the request. They redoubled their presents : they employed persuasions, but to no purpose. Cortez was inflexible. At last they had recourse to threats, according to their instructions, and talked loudly of the forces and treasures of their country. "These," said Cortez, turning to his companions, "these are what we seek ; great perils and great riches." Stronger motives could not have been offered to indigent adventurers, burning with the spirit of chivalry and the lust of plunder. Their leader saw conquest in their looks ; and having now received the necessary information, and prepared himself against all hazards, he boldly marched toward the seat of empire¹⁹.

The Spanish general, however, though so little diffident of his own strength, prudently negotiated with such princes and states as he found to be enemies of the Mexicans. Among these the most powerful was the republic of Tlascala. Cortez proposed an alliance to the senate ; but that assembly resolved, not only to withhold assistance from the Spaniards, but to oppose them. This resolution had almost proved fatal to Cortez and his enterprise. The Tlascalans were a brave people, and brought a formidable army into the field ; but by the help of musquetry, artillery, and cavalry, to these republicans above all things tremendous, the Spaniards, after repeated struggles, were enabled to humble them. They saw their mistake ; entered into a treaty with Cortez, and were highly serviceable in his future operations.

The invaders now advanced without interruption to the gates of Mexico. Montezuma was full of irresolution and terror. That mighty emperor, whose treasures were immense, and whose sway was absolute ; who was lord over thirty princes, each of whom could bring a numerous army into the field ; was so intimidated by the defeat of the Tlascalans, that he wanted resolution to strike a blow in defence of his dignity. The haughty potentate, who had ordered Cortez to depart from his coast, introduced him to his capital. Instead of making use of force, he had recourse to perfidy. While he professed friendship to the Spanish general, he sent an army to attack the Spanish colony, newly settled at Vera Cruz, and yet in a feeble condition. Cortez received intelligence of this breach of faith, and took one of the boldest resolutions ever formed by man. He immediately proceeded to the imperial palace, accompanied by five of his principal officers ; arrested Montezuma as his prisoner ; carried

¹⁹ Herrera, dec. ii.—De Solis, lib. iii. iv.

him off to the Spanish quarters ; compelled him to deliver to punishment the officer who had acted by his orders, and publicly acknowledge himself, in the seat of his power, the vassal of the king of Spain²⁰.

In the height of these successes, Cortez was informed that a new general, sent by the governor of Cuba, had arrived with a superior force to supplant him in the command, and reap the fruits of his victories. He marched against his rival: he defeated him ; he took him prisoner ; and A. D. 1520. the vanquished troops, won by the magnanimity and confidence of the victor, ranged themselves under his standard. Thus reinforced, by an occurrence which threatened the extinction of his hopes, he returned with rapidity to the city of Mexico, where he found full occasion for this accession of strength.

The Mexicans were all in arms, and had surrounded the party which Cortez had left to guard the emperor. This insurrection was occasioned by the avarice and intemperate zeal of the Spaniards; who, on a solemn festival in honour of the gods of the country, had massacred two thousand of the Mexican nobles, under pretence of a secret conspiracy, and stripped them of their precious ornaments. The spirit of the people was roused: they were incensed at the confinement of their prince ; they were filled with holy indignation at the insult offered to the gods, and they longed to revenge the fate of their nobility. Cortez found it difficult to resist their fury. They permitted him, however, to join his detachment, though not from motives of friendship or generosity : they hoped to involve the whole body of the Spaniards in promiscuous ruin. “ We have discovered,” said they, “ that you are not immortal : and although the death of every Spaniard should cost us a thousand lives, we are determined to complete your destruction. After so great a slaughter, there will still remain a sufficient number to celebrate the victory²¹.”

The Mexicans now fiercely attacked the Spanish quarters, they were several times repulsed, and as often returned to the charge with undiminished ardour. They devoted themselves cheerfully to death ; boldly advanced in the face of the artillery ; threw themselves in crowds upon the musquetry, and fearlessly grappled the mouths of the guns in attempting to ascend the fortifications. Montezuma considered this as a favourable conjuncture for obtaining his freedom and the departure of the Spaniards. On those conditions he consented to employ his good offices with the people. He showed himself on the ramparts, clad in his royal robes, and endeavoured to induce the multitude to retire. They at first seemed overawed by the

presence of their sovereign, and ready to obey his commands; but suddenly recollecting the pusillanimity of his behaviour, their love was changed into hate, their veneration into contempt, and a stone, launched by an indignant arm, at once deprived Montezuma of the empire and his life²².

That accident gave sincere concern to Cortez, and was a real misfortune to the Spaniards. The successor of Montezuma was a fierce and warlike prince, and resolutely determined to support the independence of his country. Cortez, after several ineffectual struggles, found himself under the necessity of quitting the city. The Mexicans harassed him in his retreat, took from him all his baggage and treasure, and engaged him in the field with an army astonishingly numerous. The ensigns of various nations waved in the air, and the imperial standard of massy gold was displayed. Now was the time for heroism; and stronger proofs of it was never exhibited than in the valley of Otumba. "Death or victory!" was the charge, and the resolution of every Spaniard. The Mexicans were soon thrown into confusion, and a terrible slaughter ensued; but fresh crowds still pressing on, supplied the place of the slain, and the Spaniards must have sunk under the fatigue of continual fighting, had not Cortez, by a happy presence of mind, put an end to the dispute, and rendered the victory decisive. He rushed at the head of his cavalry, towards the imperial standard, closed with the Mexican general who guarded it, and, at one stroke of his lance, hurled him from his litter. The standard was seized, and the consequence proved as Cortez had expected: the Mexicans threw down their arms, and fled with precipitation and terror²³.

This victory, and the assistance of the Tlascalans, encouraged Cortez to undertake the siege of Mexico: and another fortunate circumstance enabled him to complete his conquest. The new emperor Guatimozin was taken prisoner in attempting to make his escape out of his capital, in order A. D. 1521. to rouse to arms the distant provinces of his dominions. The metropolis surrendered, and the whole empire submitted to the Spaniards.

The city of Mexico is represented as one of the most striking monuments of human grandeur. Its spacious squares, its sumptuous palaces, its magnificent temples, are pompously displayed by the Spanish historians; but we must not give entire credit to those splendid descriptions. The mechanical arts could not be carried to great perfection in a country where the use of iron was unknown: nor could the sciences or liberal arts be cultivated with success among a people ignorant of letters. The

²² Herrera, dec. ii. lib. viii.—De Solis, lib. iv. cap. xiv. xv. ²³ De Solis, lib. iv. cap. xx.

hieroglyphics, which the Mexicans are said to have used for the communication of their ideas, could but imperfectly answer that end, in comparison with general symbols or signs; and without a facile method of recording past transactions, and of preserving their own thoughts and those of others, society can never make any considerable progress. The ferocious religion of the Mexicans is another proof of their barbarity; for although we frequently find absurd ceremonies prevail among polished nations, we rarely, if ever, meet with those that are cruel. Civilised man has a feeling for man. Human blood was profusely shed upon the altars of the Mexican gods; and, if we believe the most respectable Spanish historians, human flesh (though only that of enemies) was greedily devoured both by the priests and the people. Enormous superstition and excessive despotism always go hand in hand. When the mind is enslaved, it is easy to enslave the body. Montezuma was the most absolute sovereign upon earth, and his subjects the most abject slaves.

The conquest of Mexico was followed by that of Peru, another country in the New World, abounding yet more in precious metals.

Peru had long been governed by a race of emperors, under the name of Incas, who were supposed to be the descendants of the Sun. The name of the Spanish invader was Pizarro, and that of the Inca in possession of the crown, Atahualpa. A. D. 1532. Alarmed at the ravages of the Spaniards, this prince agreed to an interview with their general, in order to settle the conditions of a peace. Though Pizarro solicited the conference, he had no thoughts but of war. The Inca, it is said, was not more sincere in his professions. He came to the place of meeting carried upon a throne of gold, and attended by upwards of ten thousand men; twenty thousand more are reported to have waited his signal; but for this report, or the insincerity of the Inca, there seems to have been no foundation in fact. All the Peruvians were richly dressed, and their arms glittered with gold and precious stones. The avarice of the Spaniards was inflamed. Pizarro disposed his followers, who did not exceed two hundred, in the most advantageous order, while Valverdè, a Dominican friar, advanced towards Atahualpa, with a crucifix in one hand and a breviary in the other. He addressed to the Inca, by the help of an interpreter, a long discourse, unfolding the principles of the Christian faith, and pressing him to embrace that religion, and submit himself to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given Peru. Atahualpa, who had listened with patience, replied thus to his pious admonisher: "How extravagant is it in the pope, to give away

so liberally that which doth not belong to him!—He is inferior, you own, to God the Father, to God the Son, and to God the Holy Ghost: these are all your gods: and the gods only can dispose of kingdoms. I am willing to be a friend to the king of Spain, who has sufficiently displayed his power by sending armies to such distant countries; but I will not be his vassal. I owe tribute to no mortal prince: I know no superior upon earth. The religion of my ancestors I venerate; and to renounce it would be absurd and impious, until you have convinced me that it is false, and that yours, which you would have me embrace, is true. You adore a god who died upon a gibbet; I worship the Sun, who never dies.”

“Vengeance!” cried Valverdè, turning towards the Spaniards;—“Vengeance! my friends;—kill these dogs, who despise the religion of the cross”

The word of command was given; the artillery played; the musquetry fired; the cavalry spread confusion and terror; while Pizarro advanced, at the head of a chosen band, and seized the person of the Inca. The slaughter was dreadful, and the pillage immense. The blow was final: Peru ceased to be an empire. The descendants of the Sun, who united in their person both regal and pontifical dignity, sunk under a set of banditti that knew not their birth. After draining Atahualpa of his treasure, under pretence of a ransom for his liberty, Pizarro condemned

A. D. 1533. him to the flames, as an obstinate idolater. But through the mediation of father Valverdè, blessed intercessor! the Inca’s sentence was changed into strangling, on condition that he should die in the Christian faith!²⁴

The conquest of Mexico and Peru put the Spaniards in possession of more specie than all the other nations of Europe. Yet Spain from that æra has continued to decline. It has declined in population, industry, and vigour. The vices attendant upon riches have corrupted all ranks of men, and enervated the national spirit. From being the first kingdom in Europe, it has become one of the less considerable. Portugal has experienced a like fate, since the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and the settlement of Brasil; and from the same cause, a too great and sudden influx of wealth.

These reflections lead us to inquire, “How far the discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards have been advantageous to Europe, or beneficial to mankind.” The subject is complicated, and will best be illustrated by the sequel of events, and the ideas suggested by such a train of particulars. Meanwhile I shall observe, that authors do not judge rightly when they ascribe to those discoveries our present improvements in commerce and

²⁴ Benzoni, Hist. Nov. Orb. lib. iii.—Herrera, dec. iii.—Zaret, lib. iii.—Garcilasso, lib. i.

civilisation. Commerce and civilisation were fast advancing in Europe before the beginning of the sixteenth century ; and this quarter of the globe would have been nearly in the state in which we now find it, though no such discoveries had been made. We should not indeed have had so much specie, but we should have had less occasion for it : the price of labour would have been lower, and would have borne the same proportion to the price of provisions, which would have answered the purpose of a larger quantity of circulating money. Our resources in war would have been fewer ; but our real strength might perhaps have been greater, as we should not have had occasion to colonise and combat at both extremities of the globe.

It must, however, be owned, that the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, in the first instance, has been of singular service to the general commerce of Europe. Our trade with India was formerly conducted by means of the Arabs, who, consequently, had a share in the profits : it is now entirely carried on by Europeans. European ships and European sailors import the commodities of the East into our harbours. But to counterbalance this advantage, the new passage, by being open to every nation, has increased the taste for Indian commodities, and whetted the avarice of man. It has prompted the nations of Europe to massacre one another in the south of Asia, and rob and murder the industrious natives, without feeling or remorse ; while it has hurt the European manufacturer, by furnishing foreign fabrics of superior quality, at a lower price than he can afford to sell. It has encouraged a losing trade : for such, in general, that with India must be accounted ;—a trade which continues to drain Europe of its bullion and cash, the commodities of the East being chiefly purchased with gold and silver.

The mines of Mexico and Peru are necessary to supply that drain. So far the discovery of America must be accounted a good, or at least the palliation of an evil. Besides, the colonies established on the continent, and in the islands of America, depend chiefly upon Europe for their manufactures, and furnish an honest and comfortable maintenance to millions of our people, who must otherwise have wanted bread, or have lived in the lowest state of wretchedness. In this view, America is favourable both to industry and population. These are solid advantages ; and the superabundance of the precious metals alone could make Spain and Portugal overlook them. They are poor amid their treasures ; while other nations, profiting by their indolence, grow wealthy by supplying their wants. The labour of a people is the only desirable source of their riches, and the only certain road to their felicity ; though mankind, in ge-

neral, are so ignorant as to suppose, that they should be happier without toil.

The discovery of America has increased the labour of Europe, and consequently its happiness, collectively considered. It has also augmented the number of the civilised part of the human species, by opening a boundless region for the planting of European colonies ; which have greatly flourished in many parts, and supplied the inhabitants of the mother-countries with a variety of commodities, formerly unknown, that contribute to the more comfortable enjoyment of life, and to the extension of trade. But the violent means by which those colonies were generally established, and the outrages which continue to be exercised against the injured natives, as often as they attempt to recover their original rights, together with the brutal slavery to which another race of men are condemned, in order to cultivate the lands so unjustly seized and possessed, are circumstances over which humanity must ever mourn, and which, the heart of every lover of his species will tell him, no commercial, no political, motives can authorise or vindicate.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to the line of general history, and enter upon that important æra, when all the great powers on the European continent made a trial of their strength in Italy ; when religion united with ambition to give new energy to the sword ; when creeds, no less than kingdoms, became the source of war ; and fire and faggot were employed to enforce human belief.

LETTER LX.

A General View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Election of Charles V. in 1519, to the Peace of Cambray, in 1529 ; including the Progress of the Reformation.

THOUGH Maximilian could not prevail upon the German electors to choose his grandson of Spain king of the Romans, he had disposed their minds in favour of that prince :
 A. D. 1515. and other circumstances, on the death of the emperor, conspired to the exaltation of Charles. The imperial crown had so long continued in the Austrian line, that it began to be considered as hereditary in that family ; and Germany, torn by religious disputes, stood in need of a powerful emperor, not only to preserve its own internal tranquillity, but also to protect it against the victorious arms of the Turks, who, under Selim I., threatened the liberties of Europe. This fierce

and rapid conqueror had already subdued the Mamelukes, a barbarous militia that had dismembered the empire of the Arabs, and made themselves masters of Egypt and Syria. The power of Charles appeared necessary to oppose that of Selim. The extensive dominions of the house of Austria, which gave him an interest in the preservation of Germany; the rich sovereignty of the Netherlands and Franche-Comté; the entire possession of the great and warlike kingdom of Spain, together with that of Naples and Sicily; all united to hold him up to the first dignity among Christian princes: and the new world seemed only to be called into existence, that its treasures might enable him to defend Christendom against the infidels.—Such was the language of his partisans.

Francis I., however, no sooner received intelligence of the death of Maximilian than he declared himself a candidate for the empire, and with no less confidence of success than Charles. He trusted to his superior years and experience, and to his great reputation in arms, acquired by the victory at Marignan, and the conquest of Milan. And it was further urged in his favour, that the impetuosity of the French cavalry, added to the firmness of the German infantry, would prove irresistible; and not only be sufficient, under a warlike emperor, to set limits to the ambition of Selim, but to break entirely the Ottoman power, and prevent it from ever becoming dangerous again to Germany.

Both claims were plausible. The dominions of Francis were less extensive but more united than those of Charles. His subjects were numerous, active, brave, lovers of glory and lovers of their king. These were strong arguments in favour of his power, so necessary at this juncture; but he had no natural interest in the Germanic body: and the electors hearing so much of military force on each side, became more alarmed for their own privileges than the common safety. They determined to reject both candidates, and offered the imperial crown to Frederic the Wise, duke of Saxony. But he, undazzled by the splendour of an object courted with so much eagerness by two great monarchs, rejected it with admirable magnanimity.

“In times of tranquillity,” said Frederic, “we wish for an emperor who has no power to invade our liberties; times of danger demand one who is able to secure our safety. The Turkish armies, led by a warlike and victorious prince, are now assembling: they are ready to pour in upon Germany with a violence unknown in former ages. New conjunctures call for new expedients. The imperial sceptre must be committed to some hand more powerful than mine, or that of any other German prince. We possess neither dominions, nor revenues, nor authority, which enable us to encounter such a

“formidable enemy. Recourse must be had, in this exigency, to one of the rival monarchs. Each of them can bring into the field forces sufficient for our defence. But as the king of Spain is of German extraction, as he is a member and prince of the empire by the territories which descend to him from his grandfather, and as his dominions stretch along that frontier which lies most exposed to the enemy, his claim, in my opinion, is preferable to that of a stranger to our language, to our blood, and to our country¹.” Charles was elected in consequence of this speech.

The two candidates had hitherto conducted their rivalry with emulation, but without enmity. They had even softened their competition by many expressions of friendship and regard. Francis in particular declared, with his usual vivacity, that his brother Charles and he were fairly and openly suitors to the same mistress: “The most assiduous and fortunate,” added he, “will win her; and the other must rest contented².” But although a generous and high-minded prince, while animated by the hope of success, might be capable of forming such a philosophic resolution, it soon appeared that he had promised a moderation too refined for humanity, and which he was little able to practise. The preference was no sooner given to his rival than Francis discovered all the passions natural to disappointed ambition. He could not suppress his chagrin and indignation at being baffled in his favourite purpose, and rejected in the face of all Europe, for a youth yet unknown to fame. The spirit of Charles resented such contempt: and from this jealousy, as much as from opposition of interest, arose that emulation between those great princes, which involved them in frequent hostilities, and kept their whole age in agitation.

When princes or private persons are resolved to quarrel, it is easy to find a brand of discord. Charles and Francis had many interfering claims in Italy; and, beside these obvious sources of contention and competition, the latter thought himself bound in honour to restore the king of Navarre to his dominions, unjustly seized by the crown of Spain. They immediately began to negotiate; and as Henry VIII. of England was the third prince of the age in power and in dignity, his friendship was eagerly courted by each of the rivals. He was the natural guardian of the liberties of Europe. Sensible of the consequence which his situation gave him, and proud of his pre-eminence, Henry knew it to be his interest to keep the balance even between the contending powers, and to restrain both, by not joining constantly with either. But he was seldom able to reduce his ideas to prac-

¹ Scard. Rer. Germ. Script.—Seckend.—Comment.—Robertson's Hist. of Charles V book i.

² Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

tice : he was governed by caprice more than by principle: the passions of the man were an over-match for the maxims of the king. Vanity and resentment were the great springs of his actions; and his neighbours, by touching these, found an easy way to draw him into their measures.

All the impolitic steps in Henry's government, however, must not be imputed to himself : many of them were occasioned by the ambition and avarice of the prime minister and favourite, cardinal Wolsey. This man, who, by his talents and accomplishments, had risen from one of the lowest conditions in life to the highest employment both in church and state, and who lived with regal splendour, governed the haughty, presumptuous, and intractable spirit of Henry with absolute ascendancy. Equally rapacious and profuse, he was insatiable in desiring wealth; vain and ostentatious, he was greedy of adulation; of boundless ambition, he aspired after new honours with an eagerness unabated by his former success. To these passions he himself sacrificed every consideration, divine and human ; and whoever sought to obtain his favour, or that of his master, found it necessary also to sacrifice liberally to them.

Francis was well acquainted with the character of Henry and of his minister. He had successfully flattered Wolsey's pride, by honouring him with particular marks of his confidence, and bestowing upon him the appellations of Father, Tutor, and Governor ; and he had obtained the restitution of Tournay, by adding a pension to these respectful titles. He now solicited an interview with the king of England near A. D. 1520. Calais, in hopes of being able, by familiar conversation, to attach him to his friendship and interest, while he gratified the cardinal's vanity, by affording him an opportunity of displaying his magnificence in the presence of two courts, and of discovering to the two nations his influence over their monarchs.

Politick though young, Charles dreaded the effects of this projected interview between two gallant princes, whose hearts were no less susceptible of friendship than their manners were capable of inspiring it. Finding it impossible, however, to prevent a visit, in which the vanity of all parties seemed to be so much concerned, he endeavoured to defeat its purpose, and to pre-occupy the favour of the English monarch, and of his minister, by an act of complaisance still more flattering and more uncommon. Relying wholly upon Henry's generosity for his safety, he landed at Dover, in his way from Spain to the Low Countries. The king of England, who was on his way to France, charmed with such an instance of confidence, hastened to receive his royal guest ; and Charles, during his short stay, had the address not only to give Henry favourable impressions of his character and

intentions, but to detach Wolsey entirely from the interests of Francis. The tiara had attracted the eye of that ambitious prelate; and as the emperor knew that the papacy was the sole point of elevation, beyond his present greatness, to which he could aspire, he made him an offer of his interest on the first vacancy³.

The interview between Henry and Francis was in an open plain between Guisnes and Ardres; where the two kings and their attendants displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expense, as procured it the name of the *Field of Cloth of Gold*. Here Henry erected a spacious house of wood and canvas, framed in London, on which, under the figure of an English archer, was inscribed the following motto: "He prevails whom I favour!" alluding to his political situation as holding in his hands the balance of power between the emperor and French monarch. Feats of chivalry however, parties of gallantry, and such exercises as were in that age reckoned manly or elegant, rather than serious business, occupied the two courts during the time they continued together, which was eighteen days. And here I cannot help noticing a circumstance that strongly marks the manners of those times, and their contrast to ours, if not their comparative rusticity. After the French and English wrestlers had exercised their strength and agility, which, according to the phrase of the historian, afforded *excellent pastime*, the kings of France and England, says Fleuranges, retired to a tent, where they drank together; and the king of England, seizing the king of France by the collar, said, "My brother, I must wrestle with you!" and attempted once or twice to *trip up his heels*; but Francis, who was an *excellent wrestler*, twisted him round and threw him on the ground with great violence. Henry endeavoured to renew the struggle, but was prevented⁴.

After taking leave of this scene of dissipation, the king of England paid a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go with him to Calais; where the artful Charles completed the impression which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendship to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. He renewed his assurances of assisting Wolsey in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in present possession of the revenues of the sees of Badajoz and Valencia. He flattered Henry's pride, by convincing him of his importance, and the justness of the motto which he had chosen; offering to submit to his sole arbitration any difference that might arise between him and Francis⁵.

3 Polyd. Virg.—Holinshed.—Herbert's Hist. of Henry VIII.—Fiddes' Life of Wolsey

4 Mem. de Fleuranges.

5 Polyd. Virg.—Fiddes.

This important point being secured, Charles repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was solemnly invested with the crown and sceptre of Charlemagne, in presence of a more splendid and numerous assembly than had appeared on any former inauguration. About the same time Solymán the Magnificent, one of the most accomplished, enterprising, and warlike of the Turkish princes, and a constant and formidable rival of the German emperor, ascended the Ottoman throne, in consequence of the death of Selim.

The first act of Charles's administration was the appointment of a diet at Worms, to concert with the princes of the empire proper measures for checking the progress of "those new and dangerous opinions, which threatened to disturb the peace of Germany, and to overturn the religion of their ancestors."—The opinions propagated by Luther and his followers were here meant. That bold innovator, after the diet at Augsburg, and the death of Maximilian, had freely promulgated his opinions, under the protection of the elector of Saxony, to whom the vicariate of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws was committed, during the interregnum that preceded the election of Charles V. And these opinions were suffered to take root in different places, and to grow up to some degree of strength and firmness. Leo X., though little skilled in such controversies, was now alarmed at Luther's progress; and convinced that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were in vain, he issued a bull of excommunication against him. His books were ordered to be burned, and he himself was delivered over to Satan, as an obstinate heretic, if he should not, within sixty days, publicly recant his errors.

This sentence did not disconcert or intimidate Luther. After renewing his appeal to a general council, he published remarks upon the bull of excommunication, and boldly declared the pope to be the Man of Sin, or Antichrist, whose appearance is foretold in the Revelation of St. John; declaimed against the tyranny and usurpations of the court of Rome with greater vehemence than ever, exhorted all Christian princes to shake off such an ignominious yoke, and boasted of his own happiness in being marked out as the object of ecclesiastical indignation, because he had ventured to assert the rights of religion, and the mental liberty of mankind. Nor did he confine his contempt of the papal power to words alone. He assembled all the professors and students of the university of Wittenberg, and with great pomp, and before a vast multitude of spectators, cast the volumes of the canon law, with the bull of excommunication, into the flames: and his example was imitated in several other cities.

While the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff were thus furiously shaken in Germany, an attack no less violent, and occasioned by the same causes, was made upon them in Switzerland. The Franciscans, being entrusted with the sale of indulgences in that country, executed their commission with the same unblushing rapacity which had rendered the Dominicans so odious in Saxony. They proceeded, however, with uninterrupted success till they arrived at Zurich, where they received a mortal blow from Ulric Zuinglius, a man of extensive learning, uncommon sagacity, and heroic intrepidity of spirit. Animated with a republican boldness, and free from those restraints which subjection to the will of a prince, and perhaps a remnant of original prejudice, imposed upon the German reformer, he advanced with more daring and rapid steps to overturn the whole fabric of the established religion; and the pope's supremacy was soon denied in the greater part of Switzerland⁶.

Such was the state of the Reformation, when Charles V. arrived in Germany. No secular prince had yet embraced the new opinions; no change in the established forms of worship had been introduced, nor any encroachments made upon the possessions or jurisdiction of the clergy; a deep impression, however, was made upon the minds of the people; their reverence for ancient institutions and doctrines was shaken; and the materials were already scattered, which produced the conflagration that afterwards spread over Europe. Charles saw the flames gathering; and, as he found it necessary to secure the friendship of Leo X. he cited Luther to appear before the diet at Worms. Luther did not hesitate a moment about yielding obedience: he accompanied the herald who brought the emperor's letter and safe conduct. "I am lawfully called to appear in that city," said he to some of his friends, who were anxious for his safety; "and thither I will go in the name of the Lord, though as many devils as tiles upon the houses were assembled against me⁷."

Had vanity and the love of applause, from which no human heart is free, been the sole principles by which Luther was influenced, his reception at Worms was such as he might have reckoned a full reward for all his labours. Vast crowds assembled to see him whenever he walked abroad; and his apartments were daily filled with princes and personages of the highest rank, who treated him with all the respect that is due to superior merit, but which is more particularly commanded by those who possess the power of directing the understanding and the sentiments of others. Rank or birth can receive no homage so flattering; for they can receive none so sincere, or which has

so immediate a reference to those qualities which men call their own. Luther was not, however, intoxicated: he behaved before the diet with decency and firmness. He readily acknowledged an excess of vehemence and acrimony in his controversial writings; but he refused to retract his opinions while unconvinced of their falsehood, or consent to their being tried by any other standard than the Scripture. Neither threats or entreaties could prevail on him to depart from this resolution. Some of the fathers, therefore, proposed to imitate the example of the council of Constance, and commit to the flames the author of this pestilent heresy; but the members of the diet refusing to agree to such a violation of public faith, and Charles not being disposed to bring a stain on the beginning of his administration by such an ignominious measure, Luther was permitted to depart in safety^s. A few days after he left the city, a severe edict was issued in the emperor's name, and by authority of the diet, forbidding any prince to harbour him, and requiring all to concur in seizing his person as soon as the term of his safe conduct should expire. But the elector of Saxony, his faithful patron, took him again, though secretly, under protection. Luther, in solitude, propagated his opinions; and Charles, for a time, found other matters to engage his attention.

The Spaniards, displeased at the departure of their sovereign, whose election to the empire they foresaw would interfere with the administration of his own kingdom, and incensed at the avarice of the Flemings, to whom the direction of public affairs had been committed since the death of cardinal Ximenes, broke out into open rebellion. This seemed to Francis, a favourable conjuncture for reinstating the family of John d'Albert in the kingdom of Navarre. Charles was at a distance from that part of his dominions, and the troops usually stationed there had been recalled to quell the commotions in Spain. A French army under Andrew de Foix, speedily conquered Navarre; but that young and inexperienced nobleman, dazzled with success, and pushed on by military ardour, ventured to enter Castile. Though divided among themselves, the Spaniards united against a foreign enemy; routed his forces, took him prisoner, and recovered Navarre in a shorter time than he had spent in subduing it.

The hostilities between the rival monarchs soon spread to another quarter. The king of France encouraged the duke of Bouillon to make war upon the emperor, and invade Luxembourg. Charles, after humbling the duke, attempted to enter France, but was repelled and worsted before Mezieres, by the famous Chevalier de Bayard, distinguished among his contemporaries by the appellation of *The knight without fear and without re-*

proach, who united the talents of a consummate general to the punctilious honour and romantic gallantry of the heroes of chivalry. Francis rushed into the Low Countries; where, by an excess of caution, an error not natural to him, he lost an opportunity of cutting off the whole imperial army; and, what was still greater misconduct, he disgusted the constable de Bourbon, by giving the command of the van to the duke of Alençon⁹.

During these operations in the field, an unsuccessful congress took place at Calais, under the mediation of Henry VIII. It served only to exasperate those whom it was intended to reconcile. And a league was soon after concluded at Bruges, through the intrigues of Wolsey, between the pope, Henry, and Charles, against France. Leo had already entered into a separate league with the emperor; and the French were rapidly losing ground in Italy¹⁰.

The insolence and exactions of Lautrec, governor of Milan, had totally alienated the affections of the people from France. They resolved to expel the troops of that nation, and put themselves under the government of Francis Sforza, brother to Maximilian, their late duke. In this resolution they were encouraged by the pope, who excommunicated Lautrec, and took into his pay a considerable body of Swiss. The papal army, commanded by Prosper Colonna, an experienced general, was joined by reinforcements from Germany and Naples; while Lautrec, neglected by his court, and deserted by the Swiss in its pay, was unable to make head against the enemy. The city of Milan was betrayed by the inhabitants to the confederates; Parma and Placentia were united to the ecclesiastical state; and of the conquests of the French in Lombardy, only Cremona, the castle of Milan, and a few inconsiderable forts, remained in their power¹¹.

Leo received the account of this success with such transports of joy as are said to have brought on a fever which occasioned his death. The spirit of the confederacy was broken, and its operations suspended by that event. The Swiss were recalled: some other mercenaries were disbanded for want of pay: so that only the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the emperor's service, remained to defend the duchy of Milan. But Lautrec, who, with the remnant of his army, had taken shelter in the Venetian territories, destitute of both men and money, was unable to improve this opportunity. All his efforts were rendered ineffectual by the vigilance and activity of Colonna and his associates.

Meantime high discord prevailed in the conclave. Wolsey's name, notwithstanding the emperor's magnificent promises, was

9 Œuvr. de Brantome, tome vi.—Mem. de Bellay.

10 Rymer, Fœd. vol. xiii.—Herbert's Hist. of Henry VIII.

11 Guicciardini, lib. xiv.—Mem. de Bellay.

scarcely mentioned in the assembly. Julio of Medicis, Leo's nephew, thought himself sure of the election ; when, by an unexpected turn of fortune, cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, Charles's preceptor, who at that time governed Spain in the character of viceroy, was raised to the papacy, to the great disgust of the Italians. A. D. 1522.

Francis, roused by the rising consequence of his rival, resolved to exert himself with fresh vigour, in order to wrest from him his late conquests in Lombardy. Lautrec received a supply of money, and a recruit of ten thousand Swiss infantry. With this reinforcement he was enabled once more to act offensively, and even to advance within a few miles of the city of Milan ; when money again failing him, and the Swiss growing murinous, he was obliged to attack the imperialists in their camp at Bicoca, where he was repulsed with great slaughter, having lost his bravest officers and best troops. The Swiss who survived immediately set out for their own country ; and Lautrec, despairing of being able to keep the field, retired into France. Genoa was soon after taken by Colonna ; and the authority of the emperor was established in all parts of Italy. The citadel of Cremona was the sole fortress that remained in the hands of the French¹².

The affliction of Francis, for such a succession of misfortunes, was augmented by the unexpected arrival of an English herald, who, in the name of his sovereign, declared war against France. The courage of this high-spirited prince, however, did not forsake him. Though his treasury was exhausted by expensive pleasures no less than by hostile enterprises, he assembled a considerable army, and put his kingdom in a posture for resisting his new enemy, without abandoning any of the schemes which he was forming against the emperor. He was surprised, but not alarmed, at such a denunciation.

Willing to derive as much advantage as possible from his powerful ally, Charles paid a second visit to the court of England ; and his success exceeded his expectations. He not only gained the entire friendship of Henry, who publicly ratified the treaty of Bruges, but disarmed the resentment of Wolsey, by assuring him of the papacy on Adrian's death : an event seemingly not distant, by reason of his age and infirmities. In consequence of these negotiations, an English army invaded France, under the command of the earl of Surry ; who was obliged, however, at the close of the campaign, to retire with diminished forces, without being able to obtain possession of one place within the French frontier.

¹² Guicciardini, ubi. sup.

While the Christian princes were wasting each other's strength, Solyman the Magnificent entered Hungary, and made himself master of Belgrade, reckoned the chief barrier of that kingdom against the Turkish power. Encouraged by this success, he turned his victorious arms against the island of Rhodes, then the seat of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem : and, although every prince in that warlike age acknowledged Rhodes to be the principal bulwark of Christendom in the Levant, so violent was their mutual animosity, that they suffered Solyman without disturbance to carry on his operations against that city and island. L'isle Adam, the grand master, made a gallant defence ; but, after incredible efforts of courage, patience, and military skill, during a siege of six months, he was obliged to surrender the place, having obtained an honourable capitulation from the soltan, who admired his heroic qualities¹³. Charles and Francis were equally ashamed of having occasioned, through their contests, such a loss to the Christian world ; and the emperor, by way of reparation, granted to the knights of St. John the small island of Malta, where they fixed their residence.

Adrian VI., though the creature of the emperor, and devoted to his interest, endeavoured to assume the impartiality which became the common father of Christendom, and laboured to reconcile the contending princes, that they might unite in a league against Solyman, whose conquest of Rhodes rendered him more formidable than ever to Europe. The Italian states were no less desirous of peace than the pope : and so much regard was paid by the hostile powers to the exhortations of his holiness, and to a bull which he issued, requiring all Christian princes to consent to a truce for three years, that the Imperial, French, and English ambassadors at Rome, were impowered to treat of that matter. But while they wasted their time in fruitless negotiations, their masters were continuing their preparations for war.

The Venetians, who had hitherto adhered to the French interest, formed engagements with the emperor, for securing Francis Sforza in the possession of the duchy of Milan ; and the pope, from a persuasion that the ambition of the French monarch was the only obstacle to peace, acceded to the same alliance. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and other Italian powers, followed this example. Francis was left without an ally to resist the efforts of a multitude of enemies, whose armies every where threatened, and whose territories encompassed, his dominions. The emperor, at the head of a Spanish army, menaced France on the side of Guienne ;

13 Fontan. de Bell. Rhod.—Barre, Hist. d'Allemagne, tome viii.

the forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy; and a numerous body of Germans prepared to ravage Burgundy¹⁴.

The dread of so many and such powerful adversaries, it was thought, would have obliged Francis to stand wholly on the defensive, or at least have prevented him from entertaining any thoughts of marching into Italy. But it was the characteristic of this prince, who was too apt to become negligent on ordinary occasions, to rouse himself at the approach of imminent danger, and not only to encounter it with spirit and intrepidity, but to provide against it with diligence and industry. Before his enemies were able to strike a blow, he had assembled a powerful army, with which he hoped to disconcert all the emperor's schemes, by leading it in person into Italy: and this bold measure could scarcely have failed of the desired effect, had it been immediately carried into execution. But the discovery of a domestic conspiracy, of a very alarming nature, detained him in his kingdom.

Charles duke of Bourbon, high constable of France, was a prince of the most shining talents. His great abilities equally fitted him for the council or the field, while his eminent services to the crown entitled him to its first favour. But, unhappily, Louisa duchess of Angoulême, the king's mother, had contracted a violent aversion against the house of Bourbon; and had taught her son, over whom she had acquired an absolute ascendant, to view the duke's conduct with a jealous eye. After repeated affronts he retired from court, and began to listen to the advances of the emperor's ministers. Meantime the duchess of Bourbon died; and, as the constable was no less handsome than accomplished, the duchess of Angoulême, still susceptible of the tender passions, formed the scheme of marrying him. But Bourbon, who might have expected every thing to which an ambitious mind can aspire, from the doating fondness of a woman who governed her son and the kingdom, incapable of imitating Louisa in her sudden transition from hatred to love, or of meanly counterfeiting a passion for one who had so long pursued him with unprovoked malice, treated the proposal with disdain, and even turned it into ridicule. At once refused and insulted by the man whom love only could have made her cease to persecute, Louisa was filled with all the rage of disappointed woman. She resolved to ruin the duke, and for this purpose commenced an iniquitous suit against him; and by the chicanery of chancellor du Prat, he was deprived of his whole family estate.—Driven to despair by this treatment, he had recourse to measures which despair only could have dictated. He entered into

¹⁴ Guicciardini, lib. xv

a secret correspondence with the emperor and the king of England: and he proposed, as soon as Francis should have crossed the Alps, to raise an insurrection among his numerous vassals, and introduce foreign troops into the heart of France¹⁵.

Happily, Francis gained some intimation of this conspiracy before he left the kingdom. But not being sufficiently convinced of the constable's guilt, he suffered that dangerous enemy to escape: and Bourbon, entering into the emperor's service, employed the great resources of his enterprising genius, and his military skill, to the prejudice of his sovereign and his native country. He took a severe revenge for all his wrongs.

Francis now relinquished his intention of leading his army into Italy. He did not know how far the infection had spread among his subjects, and was afraid that his absence might encourage them to make some desperate attack in favour of a man so much beloved. He did not, however, abandon his design on the duchy of Milan; but sent, in order to subdue it, an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of admiral Bonnivet. Colonna, who was entrusted with the defence of that duchy, was in no condition to resist such a force; and the city of Milan must have fallen into the hands of the French, had not Bonnivet wasted his time in frivolous enterprises, till the inhabitants recovered from their consternation. The imperial army was reinforced. Colonna died, and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, succeeded him in the command. But the military operations were chiefly conducted by the duke of Bourbon and the marquis de Pescara, the two greatest generals of their age. Bonnivet, destitute of the talents necessary to oppose such able commanders, was reduced, after various movements and encounters, to the necessity of attempting a retreat into France. He was pursued by the imperial generals, and routed at Biagrasa.

Here fell the chevalier Bayard, whose contempt of the arts of courts prevented him from ever rising to the chief command, but who was always called, in times of real danger, to the posts of difficulty and importance. Bonnivet being wounded, the conduct of the rear was committed to Bayard. He put himself at the head of the heavy-armed cavalry, and, animating them by his presence and example, to sustain the whole shock of the imperial army, he gained time for the body of his countrymen to make good their retreat. But in that service he received a mortal wound; and being unable to continue on horseback, he ordered one of his attendants to place him under a tree, where he calmly waited the approach of death. In this situation he was found by Bourbon, who led the van of the Imperialists, and

expressed much sorrow for his fate. "Pity not me!" cried the high-minded chevalier: "I die, as a man of honour ought—in the discharge of my duty; but pity those who fight against their king, their country, and their oaths¹⁶."

The emperor and his allies were less successful in their operations on the frontier of France. They were baffled on all sides. And Francis, though stripped of his Italian dominions, might still have enjoyed in safety the glory of having defended his native kingdom against one half of Europe, and have bidden defiance to all his enemies, could he have moderated his military ardour. But understanding that the king of England, discouraged by his former fruitless enterprises, and disgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for invading Picardy, his rage for the conquest of Milan returned; and he determined, notwithstanding the approach of winter, to march into Italy.

The French army no sooner appeared in Piedmont, than the whole duchy of Milan was thrown into consternation. The capital opened its gates. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi: and had Francis been so fortunate as to pursue them, they must have abandoned that post, and been totally dispersed. But his evil genius led him to besiege Pavia, a town of considerable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Antonio de Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every thing known to the engineers of that age, or which could be effected by the valour of his troops, was attempted in vain by the French monarch against this important place. Confident of success, he had detached a considerable part of his army to invade the kingdom of Naples: and the main body was much wasted by the fatigues of the siege and the rigour of the season. The imperial generals had not hitherto molested him, but they were not idle. Pescara and Lannoy had assembled forces from all quarters: and Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, had gone into Germany, and levied at his own expense a body of twelve thousand Lansquenets. The united army A. D. 1525. advanced to the relief of Pavia, now reduced to extremity for want of ammunition and provisions. Prudence, and the advice of his most experienced officers, dictated to Francis the propriety of a retreat; but his own romantic notions of honour, and the opinion of Bonnivet, unhappily determined him to keep his post. Having said that he would take Pavia or perish in the attempt, he thought it ignominious to depart from his resolution; and he anxiously waited the approach of the enemy.

The imperial generals found the French so strongly entrenched, that they hesitated long before they ventured to attack

¹⁶ Mem. de Bellay, ubi sup.—Œuver, de Brantome, tome vi.

them. But the necessities of the besieged, and the murmurs of their own troops, obliged them at last to put every thing to hazard. Never did armies engage with greater ardour; never were men more strongly animated with personal emulation, national antipathy, mutual resentment, and all the passions which inspire obstinate bravery. The first efforts of the French valour made the firmest battalions of the Imperialists give ground; but the fortune of the day was soon changed. The Swiss troops in the service of France, unmindful of their national honour, shamefully deserted their post.—Pescara fell upon the French cavalry with the Imperial horse, and broke that formidable body by a mode of attack with which they were wholly unacquainted¹⁷; while Leyva, sallying out with his garrison during the heat of action, made a furious assault on the enemy's rear, and threw every thing into confusion. The rout became general. But Francis himself, surrounded by gallant nobles, many of whom fell by his side, long sustained the combat. His horse being killed under him, he fought on foot, undistinguished but by his valour, and killed seven men with his own hand. At last he was observed by Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had followed the fortunes of Bourbon, and who now saved the life of his sovereign, ready to sink beneath an enraged soldiery. By his persuasion Francis was prevailed upon to surrender; yet he obstinately refused, imminent as the danger was, to deliver up his sword to Bourbon. Lannoy received it. But the duke had the cruel satisfaction of exulting over his sovereign's distress, and of repaying, from revenge, the insults offered by jealousy¹⁸.

This great victory, and the captivity of Francis, filled Europe with alarm. Almost the whole French army was cut off; Milan was immediately abandoned; and in a few weeks not a Frenchman was left in Italy. The power of the emperor, and still more his ambition, became the object of universal terror; and resolutions were every where taken to set bounds to it.—Meanwhile Francis, deeply impressed with a sense of his misfortune, wrote to his mother Louisa, whom he had left regent of the kingdom, the following short but expressive letter: "All is lost, but honour!"

Charles received the news of the signal and unexpected success which had crowned his arms with the most hypocritical moderation. He would not suffer any public rejoicings to be made on account of it; and said, he only valued it, as it would prove the occasion of restoring peace to Christendom. Louisa,

¹⁷ Pescara had intermingled with the Imperial horse a considerable number of Spanish foot, armed with the heavy musquets then in use. Guicciardini, lib. xv.

¹⁸ Brantome.—Guicciardini.

however, did not trust to those appearances. Instead of giving herself up to such lamentations as were natural to a woman remarkable for maternal tenderness, she discovered all the foresight and exerted all the activity, of a consummate politician. She took every possible measure for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence, while she employed all her address to appease the resentment and to gain the friendship of ¹⁹England; and a ray of comfort from that quarter soon broke in upon the French affairs.

Though Henry had not entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, he had always retained some imperfect idea of that balance of power necessary to be maintained between Charles and Francis. By his alliance with the emperor he hoped to recover some part of those territories on the continent which had belonged to his ancestors; and in that hope he willingly contributed to give Charles the ascendancy above his rival. But having never dreamed of any event so apparently decisive as the victory of Pavia, he now became sensible of his own danger, as well as of that of Europe in general, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage of the distressed condition of France, he therefore determined to assist her in her present calamities. Other causes conspired to enforce this resolution.

The elevation of the cardinal of Medicis (Clement VII.) to St. Peter's chair, on the death of Adrian VI. had made the English minister sensible of the insincerity of the emperor's promises, while it extinguished all his hopes of the papacy; and Wolsey resolved on revenge. His master too had ground of complaint. Charles had so ill supported the appearance of moderation which he assumed when first informed of his good fortune, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry, and instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself "your affectionate son and cousin," he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself "Charles." Influenced by all these considerations, together with the glory of raising a fallen enemy, Henry listened to the flattering submissions of Louisa; entered into a defensive alliance with her, as regent of France; and engaged to use his best offices in order to procure a deliverance of her son from a state of captivity²⁰.

Meanwhile Francis was rigorously confined; and hard conditions being proposed to him, as the price of his liberty, he drew his dagger, and pointing it at his breast, cried, "It were better that a king should die thus!" But flattering himself, when he

¹⁹ Mem. de Bellay.—Brantome.—Guicciardini.

²⁰ Herbert.—Mezeray.—Fiddes' Life of Wolsey

grew cool, that such propositions could not come directly from Charles, he desired that he might be removed into Spain, where the emperor then resided. His request was complied with; but he languished long before he could obtain a sight of his conqueror. At last he was favoured with a visit; and the emperor, dreading a general combination against him, or that Francis, if driven to despair, might, as he threatened, resign his crown to the dauphin, agreed to abate somewhat of his former demands.

A. D. 1526. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Madrid, in consequence of which Francis obtained his liberty.

—The chief articles were, that Burgundy should be restored to Charles as the rightful inheritance of his ancestors, and that the king's two eldest sons should be delivered up as hostages for the performance of the conditions stipulated. The exchange of the captive monarch for his children was made on the frontiers of France and Spain. And the moment that Francis entered his own dominions, he mounted a Turkish horse, and, putting it to its speed, waved his hand, and cried aloud several times, "I am yet a king! I am yet a king²¹!"

The reputation of the French monarch, however, would have stood in a fairer light had he died a captive; for the unhappy situation of his affairs, delicate as his notions of honour appear to have been, led him henceforth to act a part very disadvantageous to his moral character. He never intended to execute the treaty of Madrid: he had even left a protest in the hands of notaries, before he signed it, that his consent should be considered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void²². Accordingly, as soon as he arrived in France, he assembled the states of Burgundy, who protested against the article relative to their province; and when the imperial ambassadors urged the immediate execution of the treaty, the king replied, that he would rigorously perform the articles relative to himself, but in those which affected the French monarchy, he must be directed by the sense of the nation. He made the highest acknowledgments to the king of England for his friendly interposition, and offered to be entirely guided by his counsels.

Charles and his ministers now saw that they were overreached in those very arts of negotiation in which they so much excelled, while the Italian states observed with pleasure that Francis was resolved to evade the execution of a treaty which they considered as dangerous to the liberties of Europe. Clement VII. absolved him from the oath which he had taken at Madrid: and the kings of France and England, the pope, the Swiss, the Venetians, the Florentines and the Milanese, entered into an alliance, to which they gave the name of the Holy League, be-

²¹ Guicciardini, lib. xvi.

²² Reueil de Tratez, tome ii.

cause his holiness was at the head of it, in order to oblige the emperor to deliver up the two sons of Francis on the payment of a reasonable ransom, and to re-establish Sforza in the quiet possession of the duchy of Milan²³.

In consequence of this league, the confederate army took the field, and Italy became once more the scene of war. But Francis, who it was expected would infuse spirit and vigour into the whole body, had gone through such a scene of distress, that he was become diffident of his talents, and distrustful of his fortune. He had flattered himself, that the dread alone of such a confederacy would induce Charles to listen to what was equitable, and therefore neglected to send sufficient reinforcements to his allies in Italy. Meantime the duke of Bourbon, who commanded the Imperialists, overran the whole duchy of Milan, of which the emperor had promised him the investiture; and his troops beginning to mutiny for want of pay, he boldly May 6, 1527. led them to Rome, in spite of every obstacle, by offering to their avidity the rich spoils of that ancient capital. Nor did he deceive them; for although he himself was slain, while encouraging their efforts by his brave example, in planting with his own hands a scaling ladder against the walls, they, more enraged than discouraged by that misfortune, mounted to the assault with the greatest ardour; and, entering the city sword in hand, pillaged it for many days, and made it a scene of horrid carnage and abominable lust.

Never did Rome experience in any age so many calamities, even from the barbarians by whom she was successively subdued—from the followers of Alaric, Genseric, or Odoacer, as now from the subjects of a Christian and Catholic monarch. Whatever was respectable in modesty or sacred in religion, seemed only the more to provoke the rage of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their mothers, and upon those altars to which they had fled for safety. Venerable prelates, after being exposed to every indignity, and enduring every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the most cruel deaths, in order to make them reveal their secret treasures. Clement himself, who had taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, was obliged to surrender at discretion; and found that his sacred character could neither procure him liberty nor respect. He was doomed to close confinement, until he should pay an enormous ransom, imposed by the victorious army, and surrender to the emperor all the places of strength belonging to the apostolic see²⁴.

²³ Goldast. Polit. Imperial.

²⁴ Onuphr. Vit. Clem. VII.—Mem. de Bellay.—Guicciardini, lib. xviii.

Charles received the news of this extraordinary event with equal surprise and pleasure ; but to conceal his joy from his Spanish subjects, who were filled with horror at the insult offered to the sovereign pontiff, and to lessen the indignation of the other powers of Europe, he expressed the deepest sorrow for the success of his arms. He put himself and his whole court into mourning ; stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip ; and ordered prayers to be offered in all the churches of Spain for the liberation of the pope, which he could immediately have procured by a letter to his generals²⁵.

The concern expressed by Henry and Francis, for the calamity of their ally, was more sincere. Alarmed at the progress of the imperial arms, they had, even before the assault upon Rome, entered into a closer alliance, and proposed to invade the Low Countries with a powerful army ; but no sooner did they hear of Clement's captivity than they changed, by a new treaty, the scene of the projected war, from the Netherlands to Italy, and resolved to take the most vigorous measures for the release of his holiness. Henry, however, contributed only money. A French army crossed the Alps, under the command of Lautrec ; Clement obtained his freedom ; and war was, for a time, carried on by the confederates with success. But the death of Lautrec, and the revolt of Andrew Doria, a celebrated Genoese admiral, at that time in the service of France, changed the face of affairs. He obliged the French garrison in Genoa to surrender, and restored the liberties of his country. The French army was ruined before Naples ; and Francis, discouraged by unsuccessful enterprises, began at length to think of peace.

At the same time, Charles, notwithstanding the advantages he had gained, had many reasons to wish for an accommodation. Solyman, having overrun Hungary, was ready to break in upon the Austrian territories with a formidable army ; and the progress of the Reformation in Germany endangered the tranquillity of that country. In consequence of this situation of affairs, while pride made both parties conceal or dissemble their real sentiments, two ladies were permitted to restore peace to Europe. Margaret of Austria, the aunt of Charles, and Louisa, the mother of Francis, met at Cambray, and settled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Francis agreed to pay two millions of crowns, as the ransom of his two sons ; to resign the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and forego all his Italian claims ; and Charles ceased to demand the restitution of Burgundy²⁶.

²⁵ Muroc.—Hist. Venet. lib. iii. ²⁶ Sandov. Hist. del Emp. Carl. V.—Robertson, book v.

All the steps of this negotiation had been communicated to the king of England; and Henry was, on that occasion, so generous to Francis, that he sent him an acquittal nearly of six hundred thousand crowns, in order to enable him to fulfil his agreement with Charles. But the Italian confederates of the French king were less satisfied with the treaty of Cambray. They were almost wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor, and seemed to have no other means of security than his equity and moderation. Of these, from his past conduct, they had not formed the most advantageous idea. But Charles's present circumstances, particularly with regard to the Turks, obliged him to behave with a generosity inconsistent with his character. The Florentines alone, whom he reduced under the dominion of the family of Medicis, had reason to complain of his severity. Sforza obtained the investiture of the duchy of Milan and his pardon: and every other power experienced the lenity of the victor.

Charles, who during this full tide of his fortune, having appeased all the discontents in Spain, had appeared in Italy with the pomp and power of a conqueror, and A. D. 1530. received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, now prepared to revisit Germany, where his presence was highly necessary; for, although the conduct and valour of his brother Ferdinand, to whom he had transferred the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, and who had been elected king of Hungary, had obliged Solymán to withdraw his forces, his return was to be feared, and the disorders of religion were daily increasing. But these disorders, and the future exploits of the emperor, must form the subject of another letter.

LETTER LXI.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe, and of the Progress of the Reformation on the Continent, from the Peace of Cambray to that of Crespi, in 1544.

THE Reformation, my dear Philip, had made a great progress in Germany, during that interval of tranquillity which the absence of the emperor, the contests between him and the pope, and his attention to the war with France, afforded to its promoters. Most of the princes who had embraced Luther's opinions had not only established in their territories that form of worship which he approved, but had entirely suppressed the rites of the Romish church. Many of the free cities had imitated their

conduct. Almost one half of the Germanic body had revolted from the papal see ; and its dominion, even in that part which had not yet shaken off the yoke of Rome, was considerably weakened by the example of the neighbouring states, or by the secret progress of those doctrines which had undermined it among them.

Whatever satisfaction the emperor, while at open enmity with the pope, might have felt in those events which tended to mortify and embarrass his holiness, he was sensible that the religious divisions in Germany would, in the end, prove injurious to the imperial authority. Accordingly, the prospect of an accommodation with Clement no sooner offered itself, than A. D. 1529. Charles convoked a diet of the empire at Spire, in order to take into consideration the state of religion. The diet, after much dispute, issued a decree confirming the edict published against Luther at Worms, and prohibiting any farther innovations in religion, but particularly the abolition of the mass, before the meeting of a general council. Against this decree, as unjust and impious, the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Lunenburg, and the prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen imperial or free cities, entered a solemn protest. On that account they were called PROTESTANTS¹; an appellation which has since become common to all the sects, of whatever denomination, that have revolted from the church of Rome.

Such was the state of religious affairs when Charles returned to Germany. He assisted in person at the diet of Augsburg ; where the protestants presented their system of opinions, composed by Melancthon, the most learned and moderate of all the reformers. This system, known by the name of the *Confession of Augsburg*, from the place where it was presented, was publicly read in the diet. Some popish divines were appointed to examine it ; they brought in their animadversions ; a dispute ensued between them and Melancthon, seconded by some of his disciples ; and, as in most cases of that kind, nothing was determined. Every one continued in his own way of thinking. From the protestant divines, Charles turned to the princes, their patrons, but with no better success ; they refused to abandon what they deemed the cause of God, for any earthly advantage. Coercive measures were resolved upon. A decree was issued, condemning most of the tenets broached by the Protestants, and withholding all toleration from those who taught them.

In consequence of this decree, which they considered as a prelude to the most violent persecution, the Protestant princes

1 Steidan.—Seckend.

assembled at Smalcalde, and concluded a league of mutual defence; and the emperor's ambition, which led him to procure for his brother the dignity of the king of the Romans, in order to continue the imperial crown in his family, furnished the confederates with a decent pretence for courting the alliance of foreign princes. The kings of France and England secretly agreed to support them. Meanwhile many circumstances and reflections convinced Charles, that this was not a proper season to attempt the extirpation of heresy by the sword. He saw Solyman ready to enter Hungary with a prodigious force, in order to wipe off the disgrace which his arms had sustained in a former campaign: he felt the necessity of union, not only for the accomplishment of his future schemes, but for ascertaining his present safety. The peace with France was precarious; and he was afraid that the followers of Luther, if treated with severity, might forget that they were Christians, and join the infidels. Policy induced him to drop the mask of zeal. By a treaty concluded at Nuremberg, and solemnly ratified in the diet at Ratisbon, he granted the Protestants liberty of conscience until the meeting of a general council: and they agreed, on their part, to assist him powerfully against the Turks². A. D. 1532.

This treaty was no sooner signed than Charles received information that Solyman had entered Hungary at the head of two hundred and fifty thousand men. The imperial army, consisting of eighty thousand disciplined foot, and above twenty thousand horse, besides a multitude of irregulars, immediately assembled in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Of this vast body the emperor, for the first time, took the personal command; and Europe waited, in anxious suspense, the issue of a decisive battle between the two greatest potentates in the universe. But, each dreading the other's power and good fortune, both conducted their operations with so much caution, that a campaign, from which the most important consequences had been expected, was closed without any memorable event. Solyman, finding it impossible to take advantage of an enemy always on his guard, marched back to Constantinople; and Charles, freed from so dangerous an invader, set out for Spain³.

During the emperor's absence, great disorders prevailed in Germany, occasioned by the fanaticism of a sect of reformers distinguished by the name of Anabaptists, because they contended, that the sacrament of baptism should be administered only to adults, and performed not by sprinkling them with wa-

² Du Mont. *Corps Diplomatique*, tome iv.

³ Sandov. *Hist. del Emp. Carl. V.* vol. ii.—Robertson, book v.

ter, but by dipping them in it. This tenet was at least harmless; but they held others of a more enthusiastic, as well as dangerous nature. They maintained, that, among Christians, who have the precepts of the Gospel to direct, and the spirit of God to guide them, the office of magistrate is unnecessary, and an encroachment on spiritual liberty; that all distinctions of birth or rank ought to be abolished; that a community of goods should be established, and that every man may lawfully marry as many wives as he thinks proper.

Tenets so flattering to human weakness and human pride produced a number of converts, especially among the lower classes. The peasants greedily embraced opinions which promised to place them on a level with their imperious masters. They assembled in great bodies, and spread devastation wherever they came. But being destitute of a skilful leader, they were soon dispersed; and Muncer, the first Anabaptist prophet, perished on a scaffold at Mulhausen in 1526. Several of his followers, however, lurked in different places, and secretly propagated the opinions of their sect. At last two Anabaptist prophets, John Matthias, a baker of Haerlem, and John Bocol, a journeyman taylor of Leyden, possessed with the rage of making proselytes, fixed their residence at Munster, an imperial city in Westphalia; and, privately assembling their associates from the neighbouring country, made themselves masters of the town, and expelled the inhabitants.

Here the Anabaptists formed a singular kind of republic, over which Matthias assumed absolute authority, and wrote to his brethren in the Low Countries, inviting them to assemble at Mount Sion (so he termed Munster,) that they might thence set out in a body to reduce all nations under their dominion. Meanwhile the bishop of Munster, having assembled a considerable army, advanced to besiege the town. On his approach, Matthias sallied out, at the head of a chosen band, forced his camp, and returned to the city loaded with glory and spoil. But his success proved fatal to him. Thinking nothing now impossible for the favourites of Heaven, he went out to meet the enemy, accompanied by no more than thirty of his followers; boasting, that, like Gideon, he would smite the host of the ungodly with a handful of men. The prophet and his thirty associates were slain.

The Anabaptists, however, did not despair: John of Leyden, their other light, still remained. This man, less bold, but more ambitious than Matthias, assumed the title of king: and being young, and of a complexion equally amorous and enthusiastic, he exercised, in their utmost latitude, those principles of his sect which favoured sensual gratification. He took, in a short time,

fourteen wives. His example was followed by his brethren: no man remained satisfied with a single wife. The houses were searched; and young women were instantly seized, and compelled to marry. Notwithstanding this sensuality, Munster made a gallant defence; but the bishop's army being reinforced, and the besieged greatly distressed for want of provisions, one of their own body deserted, and betrayed them. A. D. 1535. The city was taken by surprise: most of the Anabaptists were slain; and their king was put to death by the most exquisite and lingering tortures, which he bore with astonishing fortitude⁴. So wonderful are the effects of enthusiasm in communicating courage, even to minds naturally the most timid and feeble! and so difficult is it, in such cases, to distinguish between the martyr and the visionary!

During these transactions in Germany, Charles undertook an expedition against the pirates of Africa. Barbarossa, a bold adventurer, had succeeded his brother in the sovereignty of Algiers, which he formerly assisted him to usurp. He regulated with prudence the interior police of his kingdom, and carried on his piracies with great vigour; but perceiving that the natives submitted to his government with impatience, and fearing that his continual depredations might draw upon him a general combination of the Christian powers, he put his dominions under the protection of the Turkish emperor. Solyman, flattered by such an act of submission, and charmed with the spirit of the man, offered him the command of the Ottoman fleet. Proud of this distinction, Barbarossa repaired to Constantinople, and made use of his influence with the soltan to extend his own dominions. Partly by force, partly by treachery, he usurped the kingdom of Tunis; and being now possessed of greater power, he carried on his depredations against the Christian states with more destructive violence than ever.

Daily complaints of the piracies and ravages committed by the galleys of Barbarossa were brought to the emperor by his subjects, both in Spain and Italy; and all Christendom seemed to look up to Charles, as its greatest and most fortunate prince, for relief from this odious and degrading species of oppression. At the same time Muley-Hassan, the exiled king of Tunis, finding none of the African princes able or willing to support him in recovering his throne, applied to the victorious Charles for assistance against the usurper. Equally desirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbarossa, of appearing as the protector of an unfortunate prince, and of acquiring the glory annexed in that age to every expedition against

⁴ Ant. Lamb. Hortens. Tumult. Anabaptist.—Jo. Bapt. Ottii Annal. Anabaptist.—Moesheim, Hist. Eccles. vol. iv.

the Mohammedans, the emperor readily concluded a treaty with Muley, and set sail for Tunis with a formidable armament.

The Goletta, a strong fortress on an island in the bay of Tunis, and the key of the capital, planted with three hundred pieces of cannon, was taken by storm, together with all Barbarossa's fleet. He was defeated in a pitched battle; and ten thousand Christian slaves having knocked off their fetters, and made themselves masters of the citadel, Tunis offered to surrender at discretion. But while Charles was deliberating on the means of preserving the lives of the inhabitants, his troops, fearing that they might be deprived of the booty which they had expected, broke suddenly into the town, and pillaged and massacred without distinction. Thirty thousand persons perished by the sword, and ten thousand were made prisoners. The sceptre drenched in blood, was restored to Muley-Hassan, on condition that he should acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Spain, put into the emperor's hands all the fortified sea-ports in the kingdom of Tunis, and pay annually twelve thousand crowns for the subsistence of a Spanish garrison in the Goletta. These points being settled, and twenty thousand Christian slaves freed from bondage, either by arms or by treaty, Charles returned to Europe; but Barbarossa, who had retired to Bona, soon recruited his strength, and again became the tyrant of the ocean⁵.

The king of France took advantage of the emperor's absence, to revive his claims in Italy. The treaty of Cambray had covered up, but not extinguished, the flames of discord. Francis in particular, who waited only for an opportunity of recovering the territories and reputation which he had lost, continued to negotiate against his rival with different courts. But all his negotiations were disconcerted by unforeseen accidents. The death of Clement VII. (whom he had fixed in his interest by marrying his son, the duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry II. to Catharine of Medicis, the niece of that pontiff) deprived him of all the support which he hoped to receive from the court of Rome. The king of England, occupied with domestic cares and projects, declined engaging in the affairs of the continent; and the princes of the league of Smalcalde, to whom Francis had applied, being filled with indignation and resentment at the cruelty with which some of their reformed brethren had been treated in France, refused to have any connection with the enemy of their religion.

The particulars of this persecution it will be proper to relate, as they serve to illustrate the manners of the times. Francis was neither cruel nor bigoted. His levity and love of pleasure

⁵ Sander, vol. ii.—Robertson's Hist. Charles V. book v.

allowed him little leisure to concern himself about religious disputes ; but his principles becoming suspected, at a time when the emperor was gaining immortal glory by his expedition against the Infidels, he resolved to vindicate himself by an extraordinary demonstration of reverence for the established faith. The indiscreet zeal of some Protestant converts furnished him with the occasion. They had fixed to the gates of the Louvre, and other public places, papers containing indecent reflections on the rites of the Romish church. Six of the persons concerned in this rash action were seized ; and the king, pretending to be struck with horror at their blasphemies, appointed a solemn procession, in order to avert the wrath of Heaven. The host was carried through the city of Paris in great pomp: Francis walked uncovered before it, bearing a torch in his hand ; the princes of the blood supported the canopy over it; the nobles walked behind. In presence of this numerous assembly, the king declared, that if one of his hands should be infected with heresy, he would cut it off with the other : “ and I would sacrifice,” added he, even my own children, if found guilty of that crime.” As an awful proof of his sincerity, the six unhappy persons who had been seized were publicly burned before the procession was finished, and in the most cruel manner. They were fixed upon a machine which descended into the flames and retired alternately, until they expired⁶.—Can we wonder that the Protestant princes were incensed at such barbarity !

But Francis, though unsupported by any ally, commanded his army to advance toward the frontier of Italy, under pretence of chastising the duke of Milan for a breach of the law of nations, in putting to death his ambassador. The operations of war, however, soon took a new direction. Instead of marching directly to the duchy of Milan, Francis commenced hostilities against the duke of Savoy, with whom he had cause to be dissatisfied, and on whom he had some claims ; and before the end of the campaign, that feeble prince saw himself stripped of all his dominions, except the province of Piedmont. To complete his misfortunes, the city of Geneva, the sovereignty of which he claimed, and where the reformed religion was already established, threw off his yoke : and its revolt was attended with the loss of the adjacent territory. Geneva was then an imperial city, and now became the capital of an independent republic.

In this extremity the duke of Savoy saw no resource but in the emperor's protection ; and as his misfortunes were chiefly occasioned by his attachment to the imperial interest, he had a claim to immediate assistance. But Charles, who had recently returned from his African expedition, was not able to lend him

6 Belcarii Comment. Rer. Gallic.—Steid. Hist. Reformat.

the necessary support. His treasury was entirely drained, and he was obliged to disband his army, until he could raise new supplies. So wasting is the continued, practice even of successful war, to the most opulent princes and states !

Meantime the death of the duke of Milan changed the nature of the war, and afforded the emperor full leisure to prepare for action. The French monarch's pretext for taking up arms was at once cut off ; but as the duke had died without issue, all the rights of Francis to the duchy of Milan, which he had yielded only to Sforza and his descendants, returned to him in full force. He accordingly renewed his claim to it ; and if he had ordered his army immediately to advance, he might have made himself master of it. But he unfortunately wasted his time in fruitless negotiations, while his more politic rival took possession of the long-disputed territory, as a vacant fief of the empire. And although Charles seemed still to admit the equity of the claim of Francis, he delayed granting the investiture under various pretences, and was secretly taking every possible measure to prevent the success of that prince in Italy.

During the time gained in this manner, Charles had recruited his finances, and of course his armies; and finding himself in a condition for war, he at last threw off the mask, under which he had so long concealed his designs from the court of France.

A. D. 1536. Entering Rome with great pomp, he pronounced before the pope and cardinals assembled in full consistory, a violent invective against Francis, by way of reply to his propositions concerning the investiture of Milan. Yet the French king, by an unaccountable fatality, continued to negotiate, as if it had still been possible to terminate their differences in an amicable manner ; and Charles finding him so eager to run into the snare, favoured the deception, and, by seeming to listen to his proposals, gained yet more time for the execution of his own ambitious projects⁷.

If misfortune had rendered Francis too diffident, success had made Charles too confident. He even presumed on the subversion of the French monarchy, and seemed to consider it as an infallible event. Having chased the forces of his rival out of Piedmont and Savoy, he pushed forward at the head of fifty thousand men, against the advice of his most experienced ministers and generals, to invade the southern provinces of France; while two other armies were ordered to enter that kingdom, one on the side of Picardy, the other on the side of Champagne. He thought it impossible for Francis to resist so many attacks ; but he was too sanguine in his expectations.

The French monarch fixed upon the most effectual plan for defeating the invasion ; and he prudently persevered in following it, though it was contrary to his natural temper and to the genius of his people. He determined to remain altogether upon the defensive, and to deprive his enemies of subsistence, by laying waste the country before them. The execution of this plan was committed to the Mareschal de Montmorency, its author, a man happily fitted for such service, by the inflexible severity of his disposition. He made choice of a strong camp, near the walls of Avignon, where he assembled a considerable army ; while the king, with another body, encamped at Valence. Marseilles and Arles were the only towns he thought it necessary to defend ; and each of these he furnished with a numerous garrison of his best troops. The inhabitants of the other towns were compelled to abandon their habitations ; the fortifications of such places as might have afforded shelter to the enemy were thrown down ; corn, forage, and provisions of every kind, were carried off or destroyed ; the mills and ovens were ruined, and the wells filled or rendered useless.

This devastation extended from the Alps to Marseilles, and from the sea to the confines of Dauphiné ; so that the emperor, when he arrived with the van of his army on the borders of Provence, instead of that rich and populous country which he expected to enter, beheld nothing but one vast solitude. He did not, however, despair of success ; and, as an encouragement to his officers to continue the invasion, he held out the prospect of lands and honours in France. But all the land which any of them obtained was a grave ; and their master lost much honour by this rash enterprise. After unsuccessfully investing Marseilles and Arles ; after attempting in vain to draw Montmorency from his camp, and not daring to attack it ; Charles, having spent two inglorious months in Provence, and lost one half of his troops by famine or disease, was under the necessity of ordering a retreat ;—and although he was some time in motion before the enemy suspected his intention, his retreat was conducted with such precipitation and disorder as to deserve the name of a flight, the light troops of France having turned his march into a rout. The invasion of Picardy was not more effectual ; the Imperial forces were obliged to retire without achieving any conquest of importance^s.

Francis now gave himself up to that vain resentment which had formerly disgraced the prosperity of his rival. They had frequently, in the course of their quarrels, given each other the lie, and mutual challenges had been sent ; which, though productive of no serious consequences between the parties, had a

powerful tendency to encourage the pernicious practice of duelling. Charles, in his invective pronounced at Rome, had publicly accused Francis of perfidy and breach of faith: Francis A. D. 1537. now exceeded Charles in the indecency of his accusations. The Dauphin dying suddenly, his death was imputed to poison; Monteculi, his cup-bearer, was put to the rack: and that unhappy nobleman, in the agonies of torture, accused the emperor's generals, Gonzaga and de Leyva, of instigating him to the detestable act. The emperor himself was suspected: this extorted confession, and some obscure hints, were even considered by many as proofs of his guilt; though it was evident that neither Charles nor his generals could have any inducement to perpetrate such a crime, as Francis was still in the vigour of life himself, and had two sons besides the Dauphin⁹.

But the incensed monarch's resentment did not stop here. He was not satisfied with endeavouring to blacken the character of his rival by an ambiguous testimony, which led to the most injurious suspicions, and upon which the most cruel constructions had been put: he was willing to add rebellion to murder. For this purpose he went to the parliament of Paris; where, when he was seated with the usual solemnities, the advocate-general appeared, and accused Charles of Austria (so he affected to call the emperor) of having violated the treaty of Cambray, by which he was freed from the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Artois and Flanders; adding, that this treaty being now void, he was still to be considered as a vassal of France, and consequently had been guilty of rebellion, in taking arms against his sovereign. The charge was sustained by the court, and Charles was summoned to appear before the parliament. On his non-appearance at the appointed time, the court gave judgment that he had forfeited those counties by rebellion and contumacy¹⁰.

Francis, after this vain display of his animosity, marched into the Low Countries, as if he had intended to seize the forfeited provinces. But a suspension of arms soon took place, through the interposition of the queens of France and Hungary; A. D. 1538. and it was followed by a regular truce, concluded at Nice, through the mediation of the reigning pontiff, Paul III., of the family of Farnese, a man of venerable character and pacific disposition.

Each of these rival princes had strong reasons for being desirous of peace. The finances of both were exhausted; and the emperor, the more powerful of the two, was deeply impressed with the dread of the Turkish arms, which Francis had drawn

upon him by a league with Solymán. In consequence of this league, Barbarossa, with a great fleet, appeared on the coast of Naples; filled that kingdom with consternation; obliged Castro, a place of some strength, to surrender; plundered the adjacent country, and was taking measures for securing and extending his conquest, when the sudden arrival of Doria with a respectable fleet induced him to retire. The soltan's forces also invaded Hungary, where, after gaining several inferior advantages, they defeated the Germans in a great battle at Essek, on the Drave.

Happily for Charles and for Europe, it was not in the power of Francis, at this juncture, either to join the Turks, or to assemble an army strong enough to penetrate into the duchy of Milan. The emperor, however, was sensible that he could not long resist the efforts of two such potent confederates, nor expect that the same fortunate circumstances would concur a second time in his favour. He, therefore, thought it necessary, both for his safety and reputation, to give his consent to a truce: and Francis chose rather to incur the risque of disobliging his Ottoman ally, than draw on himself the indignation, and perhaps the arms, of all Christendom, by obstinately obstructing the re-establishment of tranquillity, and contributing to the aggrandisement of the infidels¹¹.

These considerations inclined the contending monarchs to listen to the arguments of the pope: but his holiness found it impossible to bring about a final accommodation between them, each inflexibly persisting in the assertion of his own claims. Nor could he prevail on them to see one another, though both came to the place of rendezvous; so great were the remains of distrust and rancour, or such the difficulty of adjusting the ceremonial! Yet, improbable as it may seem, a few days after signing the truce, the emperor in his passage to Barcelona being driven on the coast of Provence, Francis invited him to come on shore; frankly visited him in his galley, and was received and entertained with exterior marks of esteem and affection. Charles, with an equal degree of confidence, paid the king a visit at Aigues-mortes; where these two hostile rivals, and vindictive enemies, who had accused each other of every kind of baseness, seemed to vie in expressions of respect and friendship!¹²—Such sudden transitions from enmity to affection, and from suspicion to confidence, can only be accounted for from that spirit of chivalry, with which the manners of both princes were strongly tinged.

Besides the glory of having restored tranquillity to Europe, Paul III. secured a point of much consequence to his family. He

¹¹ Jovii, Hist. lib. xxxv.

¹² Sand. Hist. del Emp. Carl. V.

obtained in marriage, for his grandson, the emperor's natural daughter, formerly wife to Alexander de Medicis, whom Charles had raised to the supreme power in Florence. Lorenzo de Medicis, the kinsman and intimate companion of Alexander, had assassinated him by one of the blackest treasons recorded in history. Under pretence of having secured him an assignation with a lady of great beauty, and of the highest rank, he drew him into a secret apartment of his palace, and there stabbed him as he lay carelessly on a couch, expecting the presence of the lovely fair, whom he had often solicited in vain. Lorenzo, however, did not reap the fruits of his crimes ; for, although some of his countrymen extolled him as a third Brutus, and endeavoured to seize this occasion for recovering their liberties, the government of Florence passed into the hands of Cosmo II. another kinsman of Alexander. Cosmo was desirous of marrying the widow of his predecessor; but the emperor chose rather to oblige the pope, by bestowing his daughter upon Octavio Farnese, son of the duke of Parma, and grandson of his holiness.

Charles had soon farther cause to be sensible of his obligations to Paul for negotiating the truce of Nice. His troops mutinied for want of pay ; and the ability of his generals only could have prevented a total revolt. He had depended upon the subsidies which he expected from his Castilian subjects for discharging the arrears of his army. He accordingly assembled A. D. 1539. the Cortes of Castile at Toledo ; and having represented to them the great expense of his military operations, he proposed to levy such supplies as the present state of his affairs demanded, by a general excise on commodities. But the Spaniards, who already felt themselves oppressed with a load of taxes unknown to their ancestors, and who had often complained, that their country was drained of its wealth and its inhabitants, in order to prosecute quarrels in which they had no interest, determined not to add voluntarily to their own burthens. The nobles, in particular, inveighed with great vehemence against the measure proposed, as it would encroach on the most valuable and distinguished privilege of their order, that of being exempted from the payment of any tax. After employing arguments and promises in vain, Charles dismissed the assembly with indignation ; and from that period neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to the cortés, on pretence that such as pay no part of the public taxes should not claim a vote in imposing them. These assemblies have since consisted merely of the procurators or representatives of eighteen cities, two from each ; in all thirty-six members, who are absolutely at the devotion of the crown¹³.

¹³ La Science du Gouv. par M. de St. Real —Robertson's Hist. Charles V. book .

The citizens of Ghent, still more bold, broke out into open rebellion against the emperor's government, on account of a tax which they judged contrary to their ancient privileges, and a decision of the council of Mechlin in favour of the imperial authority. Enraged at an unjust imposition, and rendered desperate on seeing their rights betrayed by that very court which was bound to protect them, they flew to arms, seized several of the emperor's officers, and expelled such of the nobility as resided among them. Sensible, however, of their inability to support what their zeal had prompted them to undertake, and desirous of securing a protector against the formidable force by which they might expect soon to be attacked, they offered to acknowledge the king of France as their sovereign; to put him into immediate possession of their city, and to assist him in recovering those provinces in the Netherlands which had anciently belonged to his crown. True policy directed Francis to comply with this proposal. The counties of Flanders and Artois were more valuable than the duchy of Milan, for which he had so long contended; and their situation in regard to France made it more easy to conquer or to defend them. But we are apt to estimate the value of things by the trouble which they have cost us. Francis, computing in this manner, overrated the territory of Milan. He had lived in friendship with the emperor, ever since their interview at Aigues-mortes, and Charles had promised him the investiture of that duchy. Forgetting, therefore, all his past injuries, and the deceitful promises by which he had been so often duped, the credulous, generous, but unprincipled Francis, not only rejected the propositions of the citizens of Ghent, but communicated to the emperor his whole negotiation with the malcontents¹⁴.

Judging of Charles's heart by his own, Francis hoped, by this seemingly disinterested proceeding, to obtain at once the investiture of Milan: and the emperor, well acquainted with the weakness of his rival, flattered him in this hope, for his own selfish purposes. His presence being necessary in the Netherlands, he demanded a passage through France. It was immediately granted him; and Charles, to whom every moment was precious, set out, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his council, and the fears of his Spanish subjects, with a small but splendid train of a hundred persons. He was met on the frontiers of France by the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, who offered to go into Spain, and remain there as hostages, till he should reach his own dominions; but Charles replied, that the king's honour was sufficient for his safety, and prosecuted his journey without any other security. The king entertained him with

the utmost magnificence at Paris, and the two young princes did not take leave of him till he entered the Low Countries; yet he still found means to evade his promise, and Francis continued to believe his professions sincere¹⁵.

The inhabitants of Ghent, alarmed at the approach of the emperor, who was joined in the Netherlands by three
A. D. 1540. armies, sent ambassadors to implore his mercy, and offered to throw open their gates. Charles only condescended to reply; that he would appear among them, as a "sovereign" and a judge, with the sceptre and the sword." He accordingly entered the place of his nativity, on the anniversary of his birth; and, instead of that lenity which might have been expected, exhibited an awful example of his severity. Twenty-six of the principal citizens were put to death; a greater number were banished: the city was declared to have forfeited its privileges; a new system of political administration was prescribed; and a large fine was imposed on the inhabitants, in order to defray the expense of erecting a citadel, together with an annual tax for the support of a garrison. They were not only despoiled of their ancient immunities, but obliged to pay, like conquered people, for the means of perpetuating their own slavery¹⁶.

Having thus re-established his authority in the Low Countries, and being now under no necessity of continuing that scene of falsehood and dissimulation with which he had amused the French monarch, Charles began gradually to throw aside the veil under which he had concealed his intentions with respect to the duchy of Milan, and at last peremptorily refused to give up a territory of such value, or voluntarily to make such a liberal addition to the strength of an enemy, by diminishing his own power. He even denied, that he had ever made any promise which could bind him to an action so unnecessary, and so contrary to his own interest¹⁷.

This transaction exposed the king of France to as much scorn as it did the emperor to censure. The blind credulity of Francis, after he had experienced so often the duplicity and artifices of his rival, seemed to merit no other return. He remonstrated, however, and exclaimed, as if this had been the first instance in which the emperor had deceived him. The insult offered to his understanding affected him even more sensibly than the injury done to his interest; and he discovered such resentment as made it obvious that he would seize the first opportunity of revenge, and that a new war would soon desolate the European continent.

15 Mem. de Ribier.—Thuan. lib. i.

17 Mem. de Bellay.

16 Harci. Annal. Brabantie.

Charles, in the mean time, was obliged to turn his attention towards the affairs of Germany. The Protestants having in vain demanded a general council, pressed him earnestly to appoint a conference between a select number of divines of each party, in order to examine the points in dispute. For this purpose, a diet was assembled at Ratisbon: and such a conference, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope, was maintained with great solemnity in the presence of the emperor. But the divines chosen to manage the controversy, though men of learning and moderation, were only able to settle a few speculative opinions, all points relative to worship and jurisdiction serving only to inflame the minds of the disputants. Finding his conciliatory endeavours ineffectual, Charles prevailed on a majority of the members to approve the following edict of recess: That the articles concerning which the divines had agreed, should be treated as points decided; that those about which they had differed should be referred to the determination of a general council, or, if that could not be obtained, to a national synod; and, should it prove impracticable to assemble a synod of Germany, that a general diet of the empire should be called within eighteen months, in order to give final judgment on the whole controversy; that, in the mean time, no innovations should be made, nor any means employed to gain proselytes¹³.

This edict gave great offence to the pope. The bare mention of allowing a diet, composed chiefly of laymen, to pass judgment in regard to articles of faith, appeared to him no less criminal and profane than the worst of those heresies which the emperor seemed so zealous to suppress. The Protestants also were dissatisfied with it, as it considerably abridged the liberty which they at that time enjoyed. They murmured loudly against it; and Charles, unwilling to leave any seeds of discontent in the empire, granted them a private declaration, exempting them from whatever they thought injurious or oppressive in the edict of recess, and ascertaining to them the full possession of all their former privileges.

The situation of the emperor's affairs at this juncture made these extraordinary concessions necessary. He foresaw a rupture with France, and was alarmed at the rapid progress of the Turks in Hungary. A great revolution had happened in that kingdom. John Zápol Scæpius, by the assistance of Solyman, had wrested from the king of the Romans a considerable part of the country. John died, and left an infant son. Ferdinand attempted to take advantage of the minority, in order to repossess himself of the whole kingdom; but his ambition was disap-

¹³ Seeckend. lib. iii.—Du Mout. Corps Diplom. tome iv.

pointed by the activity and address of George Martinuzzi, bishop of Waradin, who shared the regency with the queen. Sensible that he was unable to oppose the king of the Romans in the field, Martinuzzi satisfied himself with holding out the fortified towns ; and he sent ambassadors to Solyman, beseeching him to extend toward the son that protection by which he had so generously maintained the father on the throne. Ferdinand used his utmost endeavours to thwart this negotiation, and even meanly offered to hold the Hungarian crown on the same ignominious conditions by which John had obtained it, that of paying tribute to the Porte. But the soltan saw such advantages in espousing the interest of the young king, that he instantly marched into Hungary; and the Germans, having formed the siege of Buda, were defeated with great slaughter before that city. Solyman, however, instead of becoming the protector of the infant sovereign whom he had relieved, made use of this success to extend his own dominions ; he sent the young prince into Transylvania, and added the greater part of Hungary to the Ottoman empire¹⁹.

Charles had received intelligence of this revolution before the close of the diet at Ratisbon ; and, in consequence of his concessions to the Protestants, he obtained liberal supplies, both of men and money. He now hastened to join his fleet and army in Italy, with a view of executing a great and favourite enterprise which he had concerted against Algiers ; though it would certainly have been more consistent with his dignity to have conducted the forces of the empire against Solyman, the common enemy of Christendom, who was preparing to enter the Austrian dominions.

Algiers, from the time that Barbarossa commanded the Turkish fleet, had been governed by Hassan, a renegado eunuch, who, if possible, outdid his master in boldness and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by his galleys : and such frequent alarms were given to the coasts of Spain, that there was a necessity for erecting watch-towers at certain distances, and of keeping a guard constantly employed, in order to descry the approach of his squadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from the depredations of the rapacious ruffians by whom they were manned.

Charles was extremely eager to humble this daring corsair, and to exterminate the lawless crew who had so long infested the ocean ; and although the autumn was now far advanced, he obstinately persisted in his purpose, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Andrew Doria, who conjured him not to expose his armament to the hazard of destruction, by venturing, at so late

¹⁹ Istuanhaffi, Hist. Reg. Hung. lib. xiv.

a season, to approach the stormy coast of Algiers. Doria's words proved prophetic.

No sooner had the emperor landed in Barbary, than a hurricane dispersed and shattered his fleet; while he and his land forces were exposed to all the fury of the elements, in an enemy's country, without a hut or a tent to shelter them, or even a spot of firm ground on which they could rest their wearied bodies. In this calamitous situation they continued for several days, harassed at the same time by the attacks of the Algerines. At last, Doria being able to assemble the remains of the fleet, Charles was glad to re-embark, after having lost the greater part of his army, by the inclemency of the weather, famine, or the sword of the enemy. And the men who yet survived were doomed to encounter new miseries in their return, the fleet being scattered by a fresh storm²⁰.

Such, my dear Philip, was the result of the emperor's pompous expedition against Algiers, the most unfortunate enterprise of his reign, and that on which he built the highest hopes. But, if he failed to acquire the glory which ever attends success, he secured that which is more essentially connected with merit. He never appeared greater than amidst his misfortunes. His firmness and constancy of spirit, his magnanimity, fortitude, humanity, and compassion, were eminently conspicuous. He endured as severe hardships as the meanest soldier; he exposed his own person to whatever danger appeared; he encouraged the desponding, visited the sick and wounded, and animated all by his words and example²¹. He paid dearly for his obstinacy and presumption: but he made mankind sensible, that he possessed some valuable qualities, which an almost uninterrupted flow of prosperity had hitherto afforded him little opportunity of showing.

The loss which the emperor suffered in this calamitous enterprise encouraged the king of France to begin hostilities, an action dishonourable to civil society having furnished him with a pretence for taking arms. The marquis del Guasto, governor of the duchy of Milan, had gained intelligence of the motions and destination of two ambassadors whom Francis had despatched to the Porte and to the Venetian state; and knowing how much his master wished to discover the intentions of the French monarch, and of what consequence it was to retard the execution of his measures, he employed some soldiers to lie in wait for these envoys as they sailed down the Po. The ambassadors and most of their attendants were murdered, and their papers seized²².

²⁰ Nie. Villag. Expedit. Car. V. ad Argyniam.—Saudov. vol. ii.—Robertson, book v.

²¹ Id. *ibid*.

²² Mem. de Bellay

Francis immediately demanded reparation for that barbarous violence ; and as Charles endeavoured to amuse him with an evasive answer, he appealed to all the courts of Europe, setting forth the heinousness of the injury, the iniquity of the emperor in disregarding his just request, and the necessity of vengeance. But Charles, who was a more profound negotiator, defeated in a great measure the effects of these spirited representations. He secured the fidelity of the Protestant princes in Germany, by gratifying them with new concessions ; and engaged the king of England to espouse his cause, under pretence of defending Europe against the infidels ; while Francis was only able to form an alliance with the kings of Denmark and Sweden, and to renew his treaty with Solymán, which drew on him the indignation of Christendom.

But the activity of Francis supplied all the defects in his negotiation. Five armies were soon ready to take the
 A. D. 1542. field, under different generals, and with different destinations. Nor was Charles slow or negligent in his preparations. He and Henry, a second time, made an ideal division of the kingdom of France. But as the hostilities that ensued were followed by no important consequence, nor distinguished by any memorable event, except the battle of Cerisoles, gained by the count d'Enghein over the Imperialists, of whom nearly ten thousand fell, I shall not enter into particulars. It will be sufficient to observe, that, after France, Spain, Piedmont, and the Low Countries, had been alternately, or at once, the scenes of war ; after the Turkish fleet, under Barbarossa, had ravaged the coasts of Italy, and the lilies of France, and the crescent of Mohammed had appeared in conjunction before Nice, where the cross of Savoy was displayed, Francis and Charles
 A. D. 1544. concluded at Crespi a treaty of peace, in which the king of England was not mentioned ; and, from being implacable enemies, became once more, in appearance, cordial friends, and even allies by the ties of blood²³.

The chief articles of this treaty were, that all the conquests which either party had made since the truce of Nice should be restored ; that the emperor should give in marriage to the duke of Orleans, either his eldest daughter, with the Low Countries, or the second daughter of his brother Ferdinand, with the investiture of the duchy of Milan : that Francis should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, as well as to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and Charles resign his claim to the duchy of Burgundy ; and that both should unite in making war against the Turks²⁴.

The emperor was chiefly induced to grant conditions so advantageous to France, by a desire of humbling the Protestant princes in Germany. With the papal jurisdiction, he foresaw they would endeavour to throw off the imperial authority; and he had determined to make his zeal for the former a pretence for enforcing and extending the latter. But before I speak of the wars in which that resolution involved him, I must carry forward the domestic history of England, the knowledge of which will throw light on many foreign transactions.

Meanwhile I shall observe, for the sake of perspicuity, that the death of the duke of Orleans, before the consum-
 mation of his marriage, released the emperor from A. D. 1545.
 the most unpleasing stipulation in the treaty of Crespi; and that the French monarch, being still engaged in hostilities with England, was unable to obtain any reparation for the loss which he suffered by this unforeseen event. These hostilities, like those between Charles and Francis, terminated in nothing decisive. Equally weary of a struggle attended with no glory or advantage to either, the contending parties concluded at Campe, near Ardres, a treaty of peace, in A. D. 1546.
 which it was stipulated, that France should pay the arrears due by former treaties to England. But these arrears did not amount to more than one third of the sum expended by Henry on his military operations; and Francis being in no condition to discharge them, Boulogne (a chargeable pledge) was left in the hands of the English monarch as a security for the debt²⁵. Such was the result of a war which had considerably diminished the wealth and impaired the strength of both kingdoms.

25 Herbert.—Stow.

LETTER LXII.

The domestic History of England during the Reign of Henry VIII. with some Account of the Affairs of Scotland, and of the Rise of the Reformation in both Kingdoms.

NO prince ever ascended the throne of England with greater advantages than Henry VIII. You have already had occasion, my dear Philip, to observe his fortunate situation with respect to the great powers of the con-
 tinent: he was no less happy in regard to the internal state of A. D. 1509.

his kingdom, and other domestic circumstances. His title to the crown was undisputed ; his treasury was full ; his subjects were in tranquillity ; and the vigour and comeliness of his person, his freedom of manners, his love of show, and his dexterity in every manly exercise, rendered his accession highly popular, while his proficiency in literature, and his reputation for talents, made his character respectable. Every thing seemed to prognosticate a happy and prosperous reign.

The first act of Henry's administration confirmed the public hopes: it was the prosecution of Empson and Dudley, the unfeeling ministers whom his father had employed in his extortions. They insisted, and perhaps justly, that they had acted solely by royal authority : but the jury gave a verdict against them ; and Henry, at the earnest desire of the people, granted a warrant for their execution¹.

Having punished the instruments of past oppression, the king's next concern was to fulfil his former engagements. He had been long betrothed to his brother's widow ; and, notwithstanding some scruples, he now agreed that the nuptials should be celebrated. We shall afterwards have occasion to observe the extraordinary effects of this marriage, and of the king's remorse, either real or pretended.

Some princes have been their own ministers, but almost every one has either had a minister or a favourite : Wolsey, whose character has already been delineated, was both to Henry. Being admitted to the youthful monarch's pleasures, he took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted, notwithstanding his religious habit, all that frolic and gaiety, which he found to be agreeable to the age and inclinations of the king. During the intervals of amusement, he introduced politics, and insinuated those maxims of conduct which he was desirous his master should pursue². By these means he insensibly acquired that absolute ascendant over Henry, which distinguished his administration : and the people saw with concern very frequent instances of his uncontrolled authority.

The duke of Buckingham, high constable of England, the first nobleman in the kingdom both in family and fortune, having wantonly given disgust to Wolsey, soon found reason to repent his imprudence. He was descended by a female from the duke of Gloucester, son of Edward III. and being infatuated with judicial astrology, he consulted a Carthusian friar, named Hopkins, who flattered him with the hope of ascending the English throne. He had even been so unguarded as to utter some expressions against the king's life. The cardinal made these the grounds of an impeachment ; and although the duke's threats

¹ Holinshed's Chron.

² Life of Wolsey, by Cavendish.

seem to have proceeded more from indiscretion than deliberate malice, he was brought to trial, condemned, and executed³. The office of high constable, which A. D. 1521. this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, being forfeited by his attainder, was never afterwards revived in England.

The next memorable event in the domestic history of this reign, is the divorce of queen Catharine. The king's scruples in regard to the lawfulness of his marriage increased with the decay of the queen's beauty. She had borne him several children; but they were all dead except the princess Mary; and Henry was passionately desirous of male issue. He consulted his confessor, the bishop of Lincoln, on the legality of marrying a brother's widow, and found that prelate possessed with some doubts and difficulties. He next proceeded to examine the question by his own learning and study, being himself a great divine and casuist; and having had recourse to the works of his oracle, Thomas Aquinas, he discovered that this celebrated doctor had expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages. The archbishop of Canterbury was now applied to, and desired to consult his brethren. All the prelates of England, except Fisher, bishop of Rochester, declared, under their hands and seals, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful⁴. Wolsey also fortified his master's scruples; and the bright eyes of Anne Boleyn, maid of honour to the queen, carried home every argument to the heart of Henry, more forcibly than even the suggestions of that powerful favourite.

This young lady was daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by Henry in several embassies. She had been carried over to Paris in early youth, by the king's sister, when espoused to Louis XII. of France; and the graces of her mind, no less than the beauty of her person, had distinguished her even in that polished court. The time at which she returned to England is not certainly known; but it appears to have been after the king had entertained doubts of the lawfulness of his marriage. She immediately caught the roving and amorous eye of Henry; and as her virtue and modesty left him no hope of licentious indulgence, he resolved to raise her to the throne, which her accomplishments, both natural and acquired, seemed equally fitted to adorn.

But some obstacles were yet in the way of Henry's wishes. It was necessary to obtain a divorce from the pope, as well as a revocation of the bull which had been granted for his marriage with Catharine, before he could marry Anne: and he had to combat all the interest of the emperor, whose aunt he was going

³ Herbert.

⁴ Burnet's Hist. Reformat. book i.

to degrade. He did not, however, despair of success. He was in high favour with the court of Rome, and he deserved to be so. He had not only opposed the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him, but he had even written a book against them; a performance in itself not contemptible, and which gave so much pleasure to Leo X., that he conferred upon Henry the title of *Defender of the Faith*. Sensible therefore of his importance, as one of the chief pillars of the church, at a time when it stood in much need of support, he confidently applied to Clement VII. for a dissolution of his marriage with Catharine.

The pope seemed at first favourable to Henry's inclinations; but his dread of displeasing the emperor, whose prisoner he had lately been, prevented him from coming to any fixed determination. He at last, however, empowered Campeggio and Wolsey, his two legates in England, to try the validity of the king's marriage. They accordingly opened their court A. D. 1529. at London, and proceeded to the examination of the matter. The first point which came before them, and that which Henry chiefly endeavoured to establish, was Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catharine; and although the queen protested that her virgin honour was yet untainted, when the king received her into his bed, and even appealed to his Grace (the title then borne by our kings) for the truth of her asseveration, stronger proofs than were produced could not be expected of such a fact, after so long an interval. But when the business seemed drawing near to a close, and while Henry was in anxious expectation of a sentence in his favour, all his hopes were suddenly blasted. Campeggio, on the most frivolous pretences, prorogued the court; and Clement, at the request of the emperor, evoked the cause soon after to Rome⁵.

This finesse occasioned the fall of Wolsey. Anne Boleyn imputed to him the failure of her expectations; and Henry, who entertained the highest opinion of the cardinal's capacity, ascribed his miscarriage in the present undertaking, not to misfortune or mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of that minister. The great seal was taken from him and given to sir Thomas More, a man of learning, virtue and capacity. He was indicted in the Star-Chamber; his lands and goods were declared to be forfeited; his houses and furniture were seized; and he was pronounced to be out of the protection of the laws⁶. The

⁵ Herbert.—Burnet.

⁶ Strype.—Cavendish.—The richness of Wolsey's furniture was such as must astonish even the present age. The principal apartments of his palace were lined with cloth of gold, or cloth of silver; he had a sideboard of plate of massy gold; and every other article for domestic use or ornament was proportionably sumptuous.

king's heart, however, relented, and the prosecution was carried no farther; but the cardinal was ordered to remove from court, and his final ruin was hanging over him.

The parliament seized the present opportunity to pass several bills, restraining the impositions of the clergy; and Henry was not displeased, that the pope and his whole militia should be made sensible of their dependence upon him, and of the willingness of his subjects, if he was so disposed, to reduce the power and privileges of ecclesiastics. Amid the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexion with Rome: and Anne Boleyn used every insinuation, to induce him to take that bold step, both as the readiest and surest means of her exaltation to the royal dignity, and of spreading the new doctrines, in which she had been initiated under the duchess of Alençon, a warm friend to the Reformation. But Henry, having been educated in a superstitious veneration for the Holy see, dreaded the reproach of heresy; and he abhorred all alliance with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power, because Luther, their apostle, had handled him roughly, in an answer to his book in defence of the Romish communion.

While Henry was fluctuating between contrary opinions, two of his courtiers accidentally met with Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus college, in Cambridge, a man distinguished by his learning, but still more by his candour; and as the affair of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed, that the best way, either to quiet the king's conscience or obtain the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities in Europe with regard to that controverted point. When Henry was informed of this proposal, he was delighted with it, and swore with great vehemence, "By God! Cranmer has got the right sow by the ear." The doctor was immediately sent for, and taken into favour; the universities were consulted, according to his advice; and all of them declared the king's marriage invalid⁷. A. D. 1550.

Clement, however, being still under the influence of the emperor, continued inflexible: and as Henry was sensible that the extremities to which he was proceeding, both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order, must be disagreeable to Wolsey, whose opposition he dreaded, he renewed the prosecution against his ancient favourite.

The cardinal, after his disgrace, had remained for some time at Richmond; but being ordered to remove to his see of York, he took up his residence at Cawood, in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood, by

his affability and hospitality. In this retreat he lived, when the earl of Northumberland received orders to arrest him for high treason, and conduct him to London, as a prelude to his trial. On his journey he was seized with a disorder, which turned into a dysentery; and it was with much difficulty that he was able to reach Leicester abbey. "I am come to lay my bones among you," said Wolsey to the abbot and monks, who came out to receive him; and he immediately retired to bed, whence he never rose more. "O had I but served my God," cried he, a little before he expired, "as diligently as I have served my king, he would not have deserted me in my grey hairs!" His treason, indeed, seems rather to have been against the people than the prince, or even the state; for, although the violence and obstinacy of Henry's character may serve as apologies for many of the cardinal's public measures, his iniquitous extortions, in what he called his legatine court, admit of no alleviation.

Thus freed from a person whom he considered as an obstacle to his views, and supported by the opinion of the learned in the step which he intended to take, Henry ordered a parliament and convocation to meet, in which he was acknowledged
 A. D. 1531. "the Protector and supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England." And having now satisfied his mind on the subject, without dreading the consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom
 A. D. 1532. he had created marchioness of Pembroke.

Cranmer, who had been promoted to the see of Canterbury, annulled, soon after, the king's marriage with Catharine (a step which ought to have preceded his second nuptials), and ratified that with Anne, who was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to such a ceremony. And, to complete the satisfaction of Henry on the conclusion of this troublesome business, the queen was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and whom
 A. D. 1533. we shall afterwards see swaying the English sceptre with equal glory to herself and happiness to her people.

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions, the pope was urged by the cardinals of the imperial faction to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement was still unwilling to proceed to extremities: he only declared Cranmer's sentence null, and threatened the king with excommunication, if he would not restore things to their former condition, before a day named. In the mean time Henry was prevailed upon, by the mediation of the king of France, to submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals

of the imperial faction were excluded from it. The pope consented; and promised, that if the king would sign an agreement to this purpose, his demands should be fully complied with.— But on what slight incidents often depend the greatest events! The courier appointed to carry the king's written promise was detained beyond the day fixed; news arrived at Rome, that a libel had been published in London against the Holy See, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the apostolic body*. The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory inflamed with rage; the marriage between Henry and Catharine was pronounced valid; the king was declared excommunicated, if he refused to adhere to it, and the rupture with England was rendered final.

The English parliament, soon after this decision of the court of Rome, conferred on the king the title of "*The only supreme HEAD of the Church of England upon Earth*," as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it; a measure of the utmost consequence to the kingdom, whether considered in a civil or ecclesiastical view, and which forms a memorable æra in our constitution. The legislature, by thus acknowledging the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, and uniting the spiritual with the civil power, introduced greater simplicity into government, and prevented all future disputes about the limits of contending jurisdictions. A door was also opened for checking the exorbitancies of superstition, and breaking those shackles by which human reason, policy, and industry, had so long been circumscribed; for, as an able historian has justly observed, the prince being head of the religious, as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, though he might sometimes be tempted to employ the former as an engine of government, could have no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in encouraging its usurpations⁹. A. D. 1534.

But England, though thus happily released from the oppressive jurisdiction of the pope, was far from enjoying religious freedom. Liberty of conscience was, if possible, more confined than ever. Henry not only retained his aversion against Luther and his doctrines, but so many of his early prejudices hung about him, that the idea of heresy still filled him with horror. Separate as he stood from the Catholic church, he continued to value himself on maintaining its dogmas, and on guarding with fire and sword the imaginary purity of his speculative opinions. All who denied the king's supremacy, or the legitimacy of his daughter Elizabeth, or who embraced the tenets of the reformers, were equally the objects of his vengeance. Among the latter were many unhappy persons, who had greedily imbibed the

⁹ Paolo Sarpi, lib. 3.

¹⁰ Hume's Hist. Eng. chap. xxx.

Lutheran doctrines, during Henry's quarrel with Rome, in hopes of a total change of worship; and who, having gone too far to recede, fell martyrs to their new faith. Among the former were the bishop of Rochester and sir Thomas More, who A. D. 1535. died upon the scaffold with heroic constancy. More retained to the last moment his facetious humour. When he laid his head on the block, and saw the executioner ready with his weapon, "Stay, friend," said he, "till I put aside my beard; for," added he, "it never committed treason¹¹." What pity, and what an instance of the inconsistency of human nature, that the man who could make a jest of death, should make a matter of conscience of the pope's supremacy!

Although Henry thus punished both Protestants and Catholics, his most dangerous enemies, he was sensible, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, and more especially the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended that their own ruin would be the consequence of the abolition of his authority in England. The king therefore determined to suppress the monasteries, as so many nurseries of rebellion, as well as of idleness, superstition, and folly, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues. In order to effectuate this robbery with some colour of justice, he appointed commissioners to visit all religious houses; and these men, acquainted with the king's design, brought reports, whether true or false, of such frightful disorders, lewdness, ignorance, priest-craft, and unnatural lusts, as filled the nation with horror against institutions which had long been objects of profound veneration. The smaller monasteries, said to have been the most corrupted, to the number of three hundred and seventy-six, were at once suppressed by A. D. 1536. parliament; and their revenues, goods, chattels, and plate, were granted to the king¹².

The convocation, at this time, passed a vote for a new translation of the bible, none being yet published, by authority, in the English language; and the reformation seemed to gain ground rapidly in the kingdom, though the king still declared himself its enemy, when its promoters, Cranmer, Latimer, and others, met with a severe mortification, which seemed to blast all their hopes, in the untimely fate of their patroness, Anne Boleyn.

This lady now began to experience the decay of the king's affections, and the capriciousness of his temper. That heart, whose allegiance she had withdrawn from another, revolted at last against herself. Henry's passion, which had subsisted in

11 Herbert.

12 Burnet.—Stow

full force during the prosecution of the divorce, and seemed only to increase under difficulties, had scarcely attained possession of its object, when it sunk into languor, succeeded by disgust. His love was suddenly transferred to a new mistress. The charms of Jane Seymour, a young lady of exquisite beauty, had entirely captivated him; and as he appears to have had little idea of any other connexion than that of marriage, he thought of nothing but how to raise her to his bed and throne.

This peculiarity in Henry's disposition, proceeding from an indolence of temper, or an aversion against the vice of gallantry, involved him in crimes of a blacker dye, and in greater anxieties, than those which he sought to avoid by forming a legal connexion. Before he could marry Jane, it was necessary to remove his once beloved Anne, now a bar in the way of his felicity. The heart is not more ingenious in suggesting apologies for its deviations, than courtiers in finding expedients to gratify the inclinations of their prince. The queen's popish enemies, sensible of the alienation of the king's affections from her, accomplished her ruin by flattering his new passion. They represented that freedom of manner which Anne had acquired in France as a dissolute levity: they indirectly accused her of a criminal correspondence with several gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and even with her own brother! and they extolled the virtues of Jane Seymour. Henry believed all because he wished to be convinced. The queen was committed to the Tower; impeached; brought to trial; condemned without evidence, and executed without remorse. History affords us no reason to call her innocence in question; and the king, by marrying her known rival the day after her execution, made the motives of his conduct sufficiently evident, and left the world in little doubt about the iniquity of the sentence.

If further argument, my dear Philip, should be thought necessary in support of the innocence of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, her serenity, and even cheerfulness, while under confinement and sentence of death, ought to have its weight, as it is perhaps unexampled in a woman, and could not well be the associate of guilt. "Never prince," says she, in a letter to Henry, "had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found Anne Boleyn; with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God, and your grace's pleasure, had been so pleased: neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration I

“knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other object.” In another letter to the king she says, “you have raised me from a private gentlewoman to a marchioness; from a marchioness to a queen; and since you can exalt me no higher in this world, you are resolved to send me to heaven, that I may become a saint.” This gaiety continued to the last. The morning of her catastrophe, conversing with the lieutenant of the Tower on what she was going to suffer, he endeavoured to comfort her by the shortness of its duration. “The executioner indeed,” replied she, “I am told is very expert; and I have but a slender neck;” grasping it with her hand and smiling¹³. The queen’s brother, and three gentlemen of the bed-chamber, also fell victims to the king’s suspicions; or rather were sacrificed to hallow his nuptials with Jane Seymour.

The Catholics, who had been the chief instruments of these tragical events, did not reap so much advantage from the fall of Anne as they expected. The friends of the Reformation still maintained their credit with the king; and articles of faith were drawn up by the convocation under Henry’s eye, more favourable to the new than the old religion, but still more conformable to the ideas of the royal theologian than agreeable to the partisans of either. Prudence, however, taught the Protestants to be silent, and to rest satisfied with the ground which they had gained. The disappointed Catholics were less quiet. The late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which all the rest were exposed, had bred discontents among the people. The Romish religion, suited to vulgar capacity, took hold of the multitude by powerful motives; they were interested for the souls of their forefathers, which they believed must now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, encouraged these prejudices, to rouse the populace to rebellion; and they assembled in large bodies in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in Lincolnshire and the northern counties. But by the prudent conduct of the duke of Norfolk, who commanded the king’s forces, and who secretly favoured the cause of the rebels, though he disapproved their rebellious measures, tranquillity was restored to the kingdom with little effusion of blood¹⁴.

The suppression of these insurrections was followed by an event which completed Henry’s domestic felicity; A. D. 1537. the birth of a son, who was baptised under the name of Edward. But this happiness was not without alloy; the queen died two days after. A son, however, had been so long and so ardently desired by Henry, and was now become so necessary,

in order to prevent disputes with regard to the succession, the two princesses being declared illegitimate, that the king's sorrow was drowned in his joy. And his authority being thus confirmed at home, and his consideration increased abroad, he carried into execution a measure on which he had been long resolved, the utter destruction of the monasteries.

The better to reconcile the minds of the people to this great innovation, the impostures of the monks were zealously brought to light. Among the sacred repositories of convents were found the parings of St. Edmund's toes; some coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the blessed Virgin, shown in eleven different places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; and part of the shirt of St. Thomas Becket, much revered by pregnant women. Some impostures of a more artificial nature also were discovered; particularly a miraculous crucifix, which had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*, the eyes, lips, and head of which, moved on the approach of its votaries. The crucifix was publicly broken at St. Paul's Cross, and the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved were shown to the people. The shrine of Becket was likewise destroyed, much to the regret of the populace. So superstitious was the veneration for this saint, that it appeared in one year, not a penny had been offered at God's altar; at the Virgin's only four pounds one shilling and eight pence; but at that of St. Thomas, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and three pence¹⁵.

The exposure of such enormous absurdities and impieties took off much of the odium from a measure in itself rapacious, violent, and unjust. The acquiescence of the nobility and gentry was further procured by grants of the revenues of convents, or leases of them at a reduced rent: and the minds of the people were quieted by being told, that the king would have no future occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, during war as well as peace, to defray from the abbey lands the whole expense of government¹⁶. Henry also settled pensions on the ejected monks, and erected six new bishoprics: which silenced the murmurs of such of the secular clergy as were not altogether wedded to the Romish communion.

After renouncing the pope's supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, the spirit of opposition, it was thought, would lead the king to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline, of the church of Rome. But although Henry, since he came to the years of maturity, had been gradually changing the tenets of that theological system in which he had been educated, he was no less dogmatical in the few which yet

15 Burnet.—Stow.

16 Coke's Inst. fol. 44.

remained to him, than if the whole fabric had been preserved entire; and so great was his scholastic arrogance, though he stood alone in his belief, that he thought himself entitled to regulate by his own particular standard the religious faith of the nation. The chancellor was therefore ordered to state to the parliament, that it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion in matters of religion. A bill, consisting of six articles, called by the Protestants the *Bloody Bill*, was drawn up according to the king's ideas; and, having passed through both houses, received the royal assent. This statute tended to establish the doctrine of the real presence, or transubstantiation; the communion in one kind, or with bread only; the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity; the utility of private masses; the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The violation of any one of these articles was made punishable with death; and a denial of the real presence, to the disgrace of common sense, could not be atoned for by the most humble recantation¹⁷—an instance of severity unknown even to the inquisition!

The affairs of religion being thus settled, the king began to think of a new wife; and as the duke of Cleves had great interest with the princes of the Smalcaldic league, whose alliance was considered as advantageous to England, Henry solicited the hand of Anne, daughter of that duke. A flattering picture of this princess, drawn by Hans Holbein, co-operated with these political motives to determine the king in his choice; and Anne was sent over to England. But Henry, though fond of large women, no sooner saw her, than (so devoid was she of beauty and grace) he swore she was a great Flanders mare, and declared he never could bear her any affection. He resolved, however, to consummate his marriage, notwithstanding his dislike, sensible that a contrary conduct would be highly resented by her friends and family. He therefore told Cromwell, his minister since the death of Wolsey, and who had been instrumental in forming the match, that, "as matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke."

But although political considerations had induced Henry to consummate, at least in appearance, his marriage with Anne of Cleves, they could not save him from disgust. His aversion increased every day; and Cromwell, though still seemingly in favour, saw his own ruin, and the queen's disgrace, hastily approaching. An unforeseen cause accelerated both. The king had fixed his affections on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and, as usual, he determined to gratify his passion, by making her his royal consort. The duke, who had long been

¹⁷ Stat. 21 Hen. VIII. cap. xiv.

at enmity with Cromwell, made use of his niece's insinuations against that minister, who was a promoter of the Reformation, as he formerly had of those of Anne Boleyn against Wolsey.—

Cromwell was accused of heresy and treason, committed to the Tower, condemned and executed¹⁸.—He was a man of low birth, but worthy, by his integrity and abilities, of the high station to which he was raised ; worthy of a better master and a better fate.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried forward at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. Henry pleaded, that when he espoused Anne, he had not *inwardly* given his consent ; and that, notwithstanding the near approach he had made, he had not thought proper to *consummate* the marriage. The convocation sustained these reasons, and solemnly annulled the engagements between the king and queen. The parliament, ever obsequious to Henry's will, ratified the decision of the church.

The marriage of the king with Catharine Howard, which quickly followed his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was regarded as a favourable incident by the Catholic party ; and the subsequent events corresponded with their expectation. The king's councils being now directed by the duke of Norfolk and bishop Gardiner, a furious persecution arose against the Protestants. The *Law of the Six Articles*, which Cromwell had, on all occasions, taken care to soften, was executed with rigour ; and Dr. Barnes, and several other clergymen, were prosecuted, and brought to the stake.

But Henry's attention was soon turned to prosecutions of a different kind, and to a subject which affected him still more sensibly than even the violation of his fa- A. D. 1541.
vourite theological statute. He had thought himself extremely happy in his new consort. The elegant person and agreeable manners of Catharine had captivated his heart ; and he had publicly, in his chapel, returned thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal state afforded him. This happiness, however, was of short duration. It disappeared like a gaudy meteor, almost as soon as it was perceived ; and its loss afflicted the king the more keenly, by reason of the circumstances by which it was accompanied. It not only vanished on a point which intimately concerned his peace, but on which he peculiarly valued himself, his skill in distinguishing a true virgin.—It at once wounded his pride and his passion. The queen had led a dissolute life before marriage. She had abandoned herself to the footmen of her grandmother, the old duchess of Norfolk, while her maid was in the same chamber, and even along

with her in the same bed. The proofs of this licentiousness were positive. There was also reason to believe, notwithstanding her declaration to the contrary, that she had not been faithful to the king's bed ; for it appeared that one Colepepper had passed the night with her alone since her marriage, and that she had taken Derham, one of her old paramours, into her service¹⁹.

When these proofs of Catharine's incontinence were laid before Henry, he was so deeply affected, that he remained for some moments speechless, and at last burst into tears. The natural ferocity of his temper, however, soon returned ; and he assembled a parliament, the usual instrument of his tyranny, in order to satiate his vengeance. A. D. 1542. A bill of attainder was voted against the queen and the viscountess of Rochford, who had conducted her criminal amours. A singular bill was also passed at the same time, making it treason in any person to conceal the incontinence of a queen of England ; and farther enacting, that if a king of England should marry any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she likewise should be deemed guilty of treason, in case she did not previously reveal her shame to him.— And the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower-hill, though their guilt had preceded the framing of that statute²⁰.

Henry now reverted to the concerns of religion ; altering the national creed, according to his own capricious humour. And he afterwards turned his arms against James V. of Scotland, because that prince had refused to imitate his conduct, in throwing off the jurisdiction of the pope.

The principles of the Reformation had already found their way into Scotland. Several persons there had fallen martyrs to the new faith : and the nobility, invited by the example of England, had cast a wishful eye on the ecclesiastical revenues ; hoping, if a change in religion should take place, to enrich themselves with the plunder of the church. But the king, though very poor, not superstitious, and somewhat inclined to magnificence, fortified by the arguments of the clergy, and guided by the inclinations of his queen, a daughter of the duke of Guise, resisted every temptation to such robbery, and continued faithful to the see of Rome. This respect for the rights of the church proved fatal to James, and brought many miseries on his kingdom, both before and after his death.

Had the king of Scotland flattered the pride of Henry by following his example in ecclesiastical affairs, he would have been supported in his measures with the whole force of England : whereas he now had that force to oppose, and a dissatisfied peo-

ple to rule. Flushed, however, with an advantage gained over a detachment from the English army by lord Hume, he marched at the head of thirty thousand men to meet the main body, commanded by the duke of Norfolk, who had advanced as far as Kelso : and as that nobleman retreated on the approach of the Scottish army, the king resolved to enter England, and take vengeance on the invaders. But his nobility, dissatisfied on account of the preference shown to the clergy, opposed his resolution, and refused to attend him. Equally enraged and surprised at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, he threatened punishment ; and still hoping to make some impression on the enemy's country with the forces that adhered to him, he despatched ten thousand men to ravage the western border. They entered England near Solway Frith, while he himself followed, at a small distance, ready to join them upon occasion.

But this expedition also proved unsuccessful, and even highly unfortunate ; and from a cause allied to that which had ruined the former enterprise. The king, rendered peevish by disappointment, and distrustful of his nobles, deprived lord Maxwell of the command of the army, and conferred it on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman. The Scots, displeased with this alteration, were preparing to disband ; when a small body of English appearing, they suddenly retreated, and were all either Nov. 24. killed or made prisoners²¹.

This disaster had such an effect on the haughty mind of James, that he would admit of no counsel or consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. All the passions that are inimical to human life, shame, rage, and despondency, took hold of him at once. His body wasted daily by sympathising with his anxious mind, and he was brought to the verge of the grave, when his queen was safely delivered of the celebrated and unfortunate Mary Stuart. Having no former issue living, he anxiously inquired whether his consort had brought him a son or a daughter ; and being informed that it was a female, he said, " The crown came with a woman, and it will go with a woman ! Many woes await this unhappy kingdom : Henry Dec. 14. will make it his own, either by force of arms or by marriage." He soon after expired.

Henry was no sooner informed of the victory at Solway, and the death of his nephew, than he formed the project of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying prince Edward to the heiress of that kingdom. For this purpose he called together such of the Scottish nobility as were his prisoners, and offered them their liberty without ransom, provided they would second his views. They readily agreed to a proposal so favourable to

themselves, and which seemed so natural and so advantageous to both kingdoms; and by their means, notwithstanding the opposition of cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, who had placed himself at the head of the regency, by forging a will in the name of the late king, the parliament of Scotland consented to a treaty of marriage and union with England²². The stipulations in that treaty it would be of little consequence to enumerate, as they were never executed.

Henry now finding himself at peace with all his neighbours, began to look out for another wife; and by espousing Catharine Parr, relict of lord Latimer, he confirmed what had been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged to marry a widow, as no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of his statute respecting virginity. Catharine was a woman of virtue and good sense; and, though inclined to promote the Reformation, a circumstance which gave great joy to the Protestant party, she delivered her sentiments with much caution in regard to the new doctrines. Henry however, whose favourite topic of conversation was theology, by engaging her frequently in religious disputes, found means to discover her real principles; and his unwieldy corpulence and ill health, having soured his temper, and increased the severity of his naturally passionate and tyrannical disposition, he ordered an impeachment to be drawn up against her: and only the greatest prudence and address could have saved her from the block.

Having gained some information of the king's displeasure, Catharine replied, when he again offered to converse with her on theological subjects, that such profound speculations were little suited to the natural imbecility of her sex; observing at the same time, that though she declined not discourse on any topic, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew that her conceptions could serve no other purpose than to afford him a momentary amusement; that she found conversation apt to languish when not revived by some opposition, and had ventured, at times, to feign a contrariety of sentiment, in order to afford him the pleasure of refuting her. And she ingeniously added, that she also proposed by this innocent artifice to engage the king in arguments, whence she had observed, by frequent experience, that she reaped much profit and instruction. "And is it so, sweetheart?" said Henry; "then we are friends again!" embracing her tenderly, and assuring her of his affection. The chancellor, ignorant of this reconciliation, came the next day to arrest Catharine, but was dismissed by Henry with the opprobrious appellations of *knave*,

*fool and beast*²³. So violent and capricious was the temper of that prince !

But although the queen was so fortunate as to appease Henry's resentment against herself, she could not save those whom she most respected. Catharine and Cranmer excepted, the king punished with unfeeling rigor all who presumed to differ from him in religious opinions, particularly in the capital tenet, transubstantiation. Among the unhappy victims committed to the flames for denying that absurd doctrine, was Anne Ascue, a young woman of extraordinary beauty and merit, connected with the principal ladies at court, and even with the queen. She died with great tranquillity and fortitude, refusing to earn a pardon by recantation, though it was offered to her at the stake²⁴.

Nor did Henry's tyrannical and persecuting spirit confine its vengeance to religious offenders : it was no less severe against such as excited his political jealousy. Amongst these were the duke of Norfolk and his gallant son the earl of Surrey. The duke had rendered considerable services to the crown ; and although understood to be the head of the Catholic party, he had always conformed to the religion of the court. He had acquired an immense fortune in consequence of the favours bestowed upon him by Henry, and was confessedly the first subject in England. That eminence drew upon him the king's jealousy. As Henry found his death approaching, he was afraid that Norfolk might disturb the government during his son's minority, or alter his religious system.

The earl of Surrey was a young nobleman of the most promising hopes, distinguished by every accomplishment which could adorn a scholar, a courtier, or a soldier, of that age. But he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reserve which his situation required ; and as he had declined all proposals of marriage among the nobility, Henry imagined that he entertained hopes of espousing his eldest daughter, the princess Mary. The suspicion of such a dangerous ambition was enough. Both he and his father, the duke of Norfolk, were committed to the tower ; tried for high treason, and condemned to suffer death, without any evidence of guilt being produced against either of them ; unless that the earl had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his escutcheon, which was considered as a proof of his aspiring to the crown, although the practice and privilege of so doing had been openly avowed by himself, and maintained by his ancestors. The earl was be-
headed ; and an order was issued for the execution A. D. 1547.
of Norfolk, but he was saved by the death of the tyrant²⁵.

²³ Burnet, vol i.—Herbert.

²⁴ Burnet.

²⁵ Burnet, vol. i.

Henry's health had long been declining, and his approaching dissolution had been foreseen by all around him for some days; but as it had been declared treason to foretel the king's death, no one durst inform him of his condition, lest he should, in the first transports of his fury, order the author of such intelligence to immediate punishment. Sir Anthony Denny, however, at last ventured to make known to him the awful truth. He intimated his resignation, and desired that Cranmer might be sent for. The archbishop came, though not before the king was speechless; but as he still seemed to retain his senses, Cranmer Jan. 28. desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ. He squeezed the primate's hand, and immediately expired²⁶, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign; affording, in his end, a striking example, that composure in the hour of death is not the inseparable characteristic of a life well spent, nor vengeance in this world the universal fate of blood-thirsty tyrants. Happily we know that there is a state beyond the grave, where all accounts will be settled, and a tribunal before which every one must answer for the deeds done in the flesh; otherwise, we should be apt to conclude, from seeing the same things happen to the just and to the unjust, to the cruel and the merciful, that there was no eye in heaven that regarded the actions of man, nor any arm to punish.

But the history of this reign, my dear Philip, yields other lessons than those of a speculative morality; lessons which come home to the breast of every Englishman, and which he ought to remember every moment of his existence. It teaches us the most alarming of all political truths; "That absolute despotism may prevail in a state, and yet the form of a free constitution may remain." It even leads us to a conjecture still more interesting to Britons, "That, in this country, an ambitious prince may most successfully exercise his tyrannies under the shelter of those barriers which the constitution has placed as the security of national freedom—of our lives, our liberty, and our property."

Henry changed the national religion, and, in a great measure, the spirit of the laws of England. He perpetrated the most enormous violences against the first men in the kingdom; he loaded the people with oppressive taxes, and pillaged them by loans which it was known he never meant to repay; but he never attempted to abolish the parliament, or even to retrench any of its doubtful privileges. The parliament was the prime minister of his tyrannical administration: it authorised his oppressive taxes, and absolved him from the payment of his debts: it gave its sanction to his most despotic and sanguinary mea-

asures : to measures, which, of himself, he durst not have carried into execution; or which, if supposed to be merely the result of his own arbitrary will, would have so far roused the spirit of the nation to assert the rights of humanity and the privileges of a free people, that some arm would have been found bold enough to rid the world of such a scourge, by carrying vengeance to his heart.

The conclusion which I mean to draw from these facts and reasonings (and it deserves our most serious attention) is this—that the British constitution—though so happily poised, that no one part of it seems to preponderate; though so admirably constructed that every one of the three estates is a check upon each of the other two, and both houses of parliament upon the crown; though the most rational and perfect system of freedom that human wisdom has framed—is no positive security against the despotism of an artful or tyrannical prince; and that, if Britons should ever become slaves, such an event is not likely to happen, as in France, by the abolition of our national assembly, but by the corruption of its members; by making that proud bulwark of our liberty, as in ancient Rome, the means of our slavery. Our admirable constitution is but a gay curtain to conceal our shame, and the iniquity of our oppressors, unless our senators are animated by the same spirit which gave it birth. If they can be overawed by threats, seduced from their duty by bribes, or allured by promises, another Henry may rule us with a rod of iron, and drench once more the scaffold with the best blood of the nation: the parliament will be the humble and secure instrument of his tyrannies.

We must now, my dear son, return to the continent, where we left Charles V. attempting that despotism which Henry VIII. had accomplished.

LETTER LXIII.

A general View of the Continent of Europe, including the Progress of the Reformation in Germany, from the first Meeting of the Council of Trent, in 1546, to the Peace of Religion concluded at Passau, in 1552.

IN consequence of the resolution of the emperor to humble the Protestant princes, his chief motive, as has been observed, for concluding a disadvantageous peace with Francis, he sent ambassadors to Constantinople, and agreed to a dishonourable

A. D. 1546. truce with Solymán. He stipulated, that his brother Ferdinand should pay an annual tribute to the Porte for that part of Hungary which still acknowledged his sway, and that the soltán should retain the imperial and undisturbed possession of the other¹. He, at the same time, entered into an alliance with Paul III. for the extirpation of heresy ; or, in other words, for oppressing the liberties of Germany, under pretence of maintaining the jurisdiction of the Holy See.

A general council had been assembled at Trent, by the authority of the pope, in order to regulate the affairs of religion. But the Protestants, though they had appealed to a general council, refused to acknowledge the legality of this, which they were sensible was convoked to condemn, not to examine, their opinions. The proceedings in the council confirmed them in this resolution ; they therefore renounced all connexion with it ; and, as they had discovered the emperor's ambitious views, they began to prepare for their own defence.

The emperor, whose schemes were not yet ripe for execution, again had recourse to that dissimulation which he had so often practised with success. He endeavoured to persuade the princes of the Smalcaldic league, that he had no intention of abridging their spiritual liberty. It being impossible, however, to conceal his military preparations, he declared that he took arms, not in a religious, but in a civil, quarrel ; not to oppress those who continued to behave as quiet and dutiful subjects, but to humble the arrogance of such as had thrown off all sense of that subordination in which they were placed under him, as the head of the Germanic body. But the substance of his treaty with the pope coming to light, these artifices did not long impose on the greater and sounder part of the Protestant confederacy. Its more intelligent members saw, that he not only aimed at the suppression of the reformed religion, but the extinction of the German liberties ; and, as they would neither renounce those sacred truths, the knowledge of which they had attained by means so wonderful ; nor abandon those civil rights which had been transmitted to them from their ancestors, they immediately had recourse to arms².

In the mean time, the death of Luther, their great apostle, Feb. 18. threw the German Protestants into much consternation, and filled the Catholics with excessive and even indecent joy ; neither party reflecting, that his opinions were now so firmly rooted, as to stand in no farther need of his fostering hand. The members of the Smalcaldic league, were also discouraged by the little success of their negotiations with foreign courts ; having applied in vain for assistance, not only to

¹ Barre, tome viii.—Mem. de Ribier.

² Sleid.—Thuan.—Paolo Sarpi.

the republic of Venice, and to the Swiss cantons, but to the kings of France and England. But they found at home no difficulty in bringing a great force into the field.

Germany at that time abounded with inhabitants. The feudal institutions subsisted in full force, and enabled the nobles to call out their numerous vassals, and to put them in motion on the shortest notice. The martial spirit of the people, not broken or enervated by the prevalence of commerce and arts, had acquired additional vigour during the frequent wars in which they had been employed. On every opportunity of entering upon action, they were accustomed to run eagerly to arms: and, to every standard that was erected, volunteers flocked from all quarters. Zeal seconded on this occasion their native ardour. Men, on whom the doctrines of the Reformation had made that deep impression which accompanies truth when first discovered, prepared to maintain it with proportional courage; and among a warlike people, it appeared infamous to remain inactive, when the defence of religion and liberty invited them to draw the sword. The confederates were therefore able, in a few weeks, to assemble an army of seventy thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, provided with every thing necessary for the operations of war³.

The emperor was in no condition to resist such a force: and, had the Protestants immediately proceeded to hostilities, they might have dictated their own terms. But they imprudently negotiated instead of acting, till Charles received supplies from Italy and the Low Countries. He still, however, cautiously declined a battle, trusting that discord and the want of money would oblige the confederates to disperse. Meantime, he himself began to suffer from the want of forage and provisions. Great numbers of his foreign troops, unaccustomed to the climate and the food of Germany, had become unfit for service; and it was a doubtful point, whether his steadiness was most likely to fail, or the zeal of the confederates to be exhausted, when an unexpected event decided the contest, and occasioned a fatal reverse in their affairs.

Several of the protestant princes, over-awed by the emperor's power, had remained neutral; while others, allured by the prospect of advantage, had voluntarily entered into his service. Among the latter was Maurice, marquis of Misnia and Thuringia, of the house of Saxony; a man of bold ambition, extensive views, and profound political talents. After many conferences with Charles and his ministers, he concluded a treaty, by which he engaged to concur in assisting the emperor as a faithful subject; and Charles, in return, engaged to bestow on

him all the spoils of his relative and benefactor, the elector of Saxony, his dignities as well as territories.

These stipulations, however, so contradictory to all that is just and honourable among men, Maurice was able to conceal, as they had been formed with the most mysterious secrecy. And so perfect a master was he in the art of dissimulation, that the confederates, notwithstanding his declining all connexion with them, and his singular assiduity in paying court to the emperor, seem to have entertained no suspicion of his designs! The elector, when he marched to join his associates, even committed his dominions to the protection of Maurice, who undertook the charge with an insidious appearance of friendship. But scarcely had the confederates taken the field, when he began to consult with the king of the Romans, how to invade those dominions which he had engaged to defend; and no sooner did he receive a copy of the imperial ban denounced against his cousin and his father-in-law, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, as leaders of the confederacy, than he suddenly entered one part of the electoral territories, at the head of twelve thousand men; while Ferdinand, with an army of Bohemians and Hungarians, over-ran the other⁴.

The news of this violent invasion, and the success of Maurice, who in a short time made himself master of the whole electorate of Saxony, except Wittenberg, Gotha, and Eisenach, no sooner reached the camp of the confederates, than they were filled with astonishment and terror. The elector immediately proposed to return home with his troops, in order to recover his hereditary dominions; and his associates, forgetting that it was the union of their forces which had hitherto rendered the confederacy formidable, and more than once obliged the Imperialists to think of quitting the field, consented to his proposal of dividing the army.

Ulm, one of the chief cities of Suabia, highly distinguished by its zeal for the Smalcaldic league, submitted to the emperor. An example being once set for deserting the common cause, the rest of the members were eager to follow it, and seemed afraid that others, by anticipating their intentions, should obtain more favourable terms. All the conditions, however, were sufficiently severe. Charles, being in great want of money, not only imposed heavy fines upon the princes and cities that had taken arms against him, but obliged them to deliver up their artillery and warlike stores, and to admit garrisons into their principal towns and places of strength⁵. Thus a confederacy, so powerful lately as to shake the imperial throne, fell to pieces, and was dissolved in the space of a few weeks; scarcely any of the asso-

⁴ Seckend. lib. iii.—Thuan. lib. i.

⁵ Seldan.—Thuan.

ciates remaining in arms, except the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, whom the emperor was at no pains to conciliate, having marked them out as the victims of his vengeance. A. D. 1547.

Meanwhile the elector, having expelled the invaders from Saxony, not only recovered in a short time possession of his own territories, but overran Misnia, and stripped his rival of all that belonged to him, except Dresden and Leipsic; while Maurice, obliged to abandon the field to superior force, and to shut himself up in his capital, despatched courier after courier to the emperor, representing his dangerous situation, and soliciting him with the most earnest importunity to march immediately to his relief.

But various causes conspired to prevent the emperor from instantly taking any effectual step in favour of his ally. His army was diminished by the departure of the Flemings, and by the garrisons which he had been obliged to throw into the towns that had capitulated; and the pope now perceiving that ambition, not religion, was the chief motive of Charles's hostilities, had weakened the imperial army still farther by unexpectedly recalling his troops.

Alarmed at the rapid progress of Charles, Paul began to tremble, and not without reason, for the liberties of Italy. Francis also observed with deep concern the humiliation of Germany, and became sensible, that if some vigorous and timely effort should not be made, Charles would soon acquire such a degree of power as might enable him to give law to the rest of Europe. He therefore resolved to form such a combination against the emperor, as should put a stop to his dangerous career. He accordingly negotiated for this purpose with Solyman II., with the pope, the Venetians, and with England. He encouraged the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, by remitting them considerable sums, to continue the struggle for their liberties: he levied troops in all parts of his dominions, and he contracted for a body of Swiss mercenaries⁶.

Measures so complicated could not escape the emperor's observation, nor fail to alarm him: and the news of a conspiracy at Genoa, where Fiesco, count of Lavigna, an ambitious young nobleman, had almost overturned the government in one night, contributed yet farther to divert Charles from marching immediately into Saxony, as he was uncertain how soon he might be obliged to lead his forces into Italy. The politic Maurice, however, found means to save himself during this delay, by a pretended negotiation with his injured kinsman; while the death of Francis I. which happened before he March 31.

was able to carry his schemes into execution, together with the final extinction of Fiesco's conspiracy by the vigilance of the celebrated Andrew Doria, equally a friend to the emperor and the republic, encouraged Charles to act with vigour in Germany.

Intent upon vengeance, the emperor now marched into Saxony at the head of sixteen thousand veterans. The elector's forces were more numerous, but they were divided. Charles did not allow them time to assemble. He attacked the main body at Mulhausen, defeated it after an obstinate dispute, and took the elector prisoner. The captive prince was immediately conducted to the emperor, whom he found standing on the field of battle, in the full exultation of victory. The elector's behaviour, even in his present unfortunate and humbling condition, was decent and even magnanimous. It was worthy of his gallant resistance. He alike avoided a sullen pride and a mean submission. "The fortune of war," said he, "most gracious emperor, has made me your prisoner, and I hope to be treated"—Here Charles rudely interrupted him: "And am I then, at last, acknowledged to be emperor? Charles of Ghent was the only title you lately allowed me. You shall be treated as you deserve!" turning from him with a haughty air. To this cruel repulse the king of the Romans added reproaches in his own name, using expressions still more harsh and insulting. The elector made no reply; but, with an unaltered countenance, accompanied the Spanish soldiers appointed to guard him⁷.

The emperor speedily marched toward Wittenberg (the capital, in that age, of the electoral branch of the Saxon family) hoping that, while the consternation occasioned by his victory was still recent, the inhabitants would submit as soon as he appeared before their walls. But Sibylla of Cleves, the elector's wife, a woman equally distinguished by her virtue and abilities, instead of obeying the imperial summons, or abandoning herself to tears and lamentation on account of her husband's misfortunes, animated the citizens by her example, as well as exhortation, to a vigorous defence; and Charles, finding that he could not suddenly reduce the place by force, had recourse to means both ungenerous and unwarlike, but more expeditious and certain. He summoned Sibylla a second time to open the gates; informing her, that, in case of refusal, the elector should answer with his head for her obstinacy. And to convince her that he was in earnest, he brought his prisoner to an immediate trial, subjecting one of the greatest princes in the empire to the jurisdiction of a court martial composed of Spanish and Italian officers; who founding their charge against him upon the imperial

⁷ Hortens. de Bell. Germ.—Robertson's Hist. Charles V. book ix.

ban, a sentence pronounced by the sole authority of Charles, and destitute of every legal formality which could render it valid, presumed the elector convicted of treason and rebellion, and condemned him to suffer death by being beheaded⁸.

Frederic was amusing himself at chess with his fellow prisoner, Ernest of Brunswick, when this decree was intimated to him. He paused for a moment, though without any symptom of surprise or terror; and after taking notice of the irregularity as well as injustice of the proceedings against him, "It is easy," said he, "to comprehend the emperor's scheme. I must die because Wittenberg refuses to surrender; and I will lay down my life with pleasure, if by that sacrifice I can preserve the dignity of my house, and transmit to my posterity the inheritance which I received from my ancestors. Heaven grant," continued he, "that this sentence may affect my wife and children no more than it does me! that they may not, for the sake of adding a few years to a life already too long, renounce honours and territories which they were born to possess!" He then turned to his antagonist, challenged him to continue the game, and played with his usual attention and ingenuity⁹.

It happened as the elector had feared: the account of his condemnation was not received with the same indifference at Wittenberg. Sibylla, who had supported with such undaunted fortitude her husband's misfortunes while she imagined his person was free from danger, felt all her resolution fail the moment his life was threatened. Anxious for his safety, she despised every other consideration; and was willing to make any sacrifice, in order to appease the rage of an incensed conqueror. Meantime Charles, perceiving that the expedient he had tried began to produce the intended effect, fell by degrees from his former firmness, and allowed himself to soften into promises of clemency and forgiveness, if the elector would show himself worthy of favour, by submitting to certain conditions. Frederic, on whom the consideration of what he himself might suffer had made no impression, was melted by the tears of a wife whom he loved: He could not resist the entreaties of his family. In compliance with their repeated solicitations, he agreed to articles of accommodation which he would otherwise have rejected with disdain;—to resign the electoral dignity, to put the imperial troops immediately in possession of his capital, and to remain the emperor's prisoner. In return for these important concessions, Charles promised not only to spare his life, but to settle on him and his posterity the city of Gotha and its territory, with a revenue of fifty thousand florins¹⁰. The Saxon electorate was instantly

⁸ Id. *ibid*.⁹ Thuan. lib. i.¹⁰ Dumont, *Corps Diplom.* tome iv.

bestowed upon Maurice. This sacrifice, though with no small reluctance, Charles was obliged to make, as it would not have been safe or prudent to violate his engagements with a warlike prince, whom he had seduced by ambitious hopes to abandon his natural allies, and whose friendship was still necessary.

The landgrave of Hesse, Maurice's father-in-law, was still in arms; but he thought no more of resistance. Alarmed at the fate of the elector of Saxony, his only care was how to procure favourable terms from the emperor, whom he now viewed as a conqueror to whose will there was a necessity of submitting. Maurice encouraged this tame spirit, by magnifying Charles's power, and boasting of his own interest with his victorious ally. The landgrave accordingly threw himself at the emperor's feet, after ratifying what terms he was pleased to impose. Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg being sureties for his personal freedom. But his submission was no sooner made, than Charles put him under the custody of a Spanish guard; and when the elector and Maurice, filled with indignation at being made the instruments of deceiving and ruining their friend, represented the infamy to which his detention would expose them, after they had pledged their faith for his release, the emperor, who no longer stood in need of their services, coolly replied, that he was ignorant of their particular or private transactions with the landgrave, nor was his conduct to be regulated by theirs. "I know," added he in a decisive tone, "what I myself have promised; for that alone I am answerable¹¹." These words put an end to the conference, and all future entreaties proved ineffectual.

Charles having now in his power the two greatest princes of the empire, carried them about with him in triumph; and having humbled all whom he had not attached to his interest, proceeded to exercise the rights of a conqueror. He ordered his troops to seize the artillery and military stores of all who had been members of the Smalcaldic league; and he exacted large sums by his sole authority, both from those who had served him with fidelity, and from such as had appeared in arms against him; from the former, as their contingent towards a war undertaken, as he pretended, for the common benefit; from the latter, as a penalty for their rebellion. His brother Ferdinand tyrannised with still greater severity over his Bohemian subjects, who had taken arms in support of their civil and religious liberties; he deprived them of their ancient privileges, and loaded them with oppressive taxes¹².

The good fortune, or, as it has been called, the STAR of the

¹¹ Thuan. lib. iv.—Struv. Corp. Hist. Germ. vol. ii.

¹² Id. *ibid*.

house of Austria, was now at its height. The emperor having humbled, and, as he imagined, subdued the independent spirit of the Germans, summoned a diet to meet at Augsburg, “in order to compose finally the controversies with regard to religion, which had so long disturbed the empire ;” or, in other words, to enslave the minds of those whose persons and property were already at his disposal. He durst not, however, commit to the free suffrage of the Germans, broken as their spirit was by subjection, the determination of a matter so interesting. He therefore entered the city at the head of his Spanish troops; cantoned the rest of his army in the adjacent villages ; and took forcible possession of the cathedral, and one of the principal churches, where his priests re-established with great pomp the rites of the Romish worship. He then opened the diet with a speech, pointing out the fatal effects of the religious dissensions which had arisen in Germany, and exhorting the members to recognise the authority of the general council which he had taken such pains to procure.

But the council, to which Charles wished to refer all controversies, had undergone by this time a violent change. The same jealousy which had made the pope recal his troops, had also prompted him to transfer the assembly to Bologna, a city subject to his own jurisdiction. The diet of Augsburg, overawed by threats, and influenced by promises, petitioned the pope, in the name of the whole Germanic body, to order the prelates of his party to return to Trent. But Paul eluded the demand. He persuaded the fathers at Bologna, to whom he referred the petition of the diet, to put a direct negative upon the request: and Charles, no longer expecting to acquire such an ascendant in the council as to render it subservient to his ambitious aims, yet wishing to prevent the authority of so venerable an assembly from being turned against him, sent two Spanish lawyers to Bologna, who, in presence of the legates, A. D. 1548. protested, that the removal of the council to that place had been unnecessary, and founded upon false or frivolous pretexts; that while it continued to meet there, it ought to be considered as an unlawful and schismatical conventicle, and all its decisions deemed null and void ; and that, as the pope, with the corrupt ecclesiastics who depended upon him, had abandoned the care of the church, the emperor, as its protector, would employ all the power which God had committed to him, in order to preserve it from those calamities with which it was threatened.

In consequence of this resolution, Charles employed some able divines to prepare a system of doctrine, which he presented to the diet, as what all should conform to, “until a council, such as they wished for, could be called.” Hence the name

Interim, by which this system is known. It was conformable in almost every article to the tenets of the Romish church, and the Romish rites were enjoined; but all disputed doctrines were expressed in the softest words, in phrases of Scripture, or in terms of studied ambiguity. In regard to two points only, some relaxation of popish rigour was granted, and some latitude in practice admitted. Such ecclesiastics as had married, and did not choose to part from their wives, were yet allowed to perform their sacred functions; and those provinces which had been accustomed to partake of the cup as well as of the bread in the communion, were still indulged with the privilege of receiving both¹³.

This treatise being read in presence of the members, the archbishop of Mentz, president of the electoral college, rose up hastily, as soon as it was finished, and having thanked the emperor for his unwearied endeavours to restore peace to the church, signified the diet's approbation of the system of doctrine which his imperial majesty had prepared, and its resolution of conforming to it in every particular. And although the whole assembly was amazed at a declaration so unprecedented and unconstitutional, as well as at the elector's presumption, in pretending to deliver the sense of the diet upon a point which had not hitherto been the subject of consultation or debate, not one member had the courage to contradict what he had said. Charles therefore held the archbishop's declaration to be a ratification of the *Interim*, and prepared to enforce the observance of it as a decree of the empire¹⁴.

The *Interim*, like all conciliating schemes proposed to men heated with disputation, pleased neither party. The Protestants thought it granted too little indulgence; the Catholics, too much: both were dissatisfied. The emperor however, fond of his plan, adhered to his resolution of carrying it into effect. But this proved one of the most difficult and dangerous undertakings in his reign; for although three Protestant princes, Maurice, the elector Palatine, and the elector of Brandenburg, agreed to receive the *Interim*, several others remonstrated against it: and the free cities joined in refusing to admit it, till force taught them submission. Augsburg and Ulm being barbarously stripped of their privileges, on account of their opposition, many other cities feigned compliance. But this obedience, extorted by the rigour of authority, produced no change in the sentiments of the Germans. They submitted with reluctance to the power that oppressed them; and although for a time they concealed their resentment, it was daily gathering force, and soon broke forth with a violence that shook the imperial throne.

¹³ Paolo Sarpi, lib. iii.—Goldast. Const. Imp. vol. i.

¹⁴ Id. *ibid*.

In this moment of general submission, it is worthy of remark, that the elector of Saxony, though the emperor's prisoner, and tempted both by threats and promises, refused to lend his sanction to the Interim. His reasons were those of a philosopher, not of a bigot. After declaring his fixed belief in the doctrines of the Reformation, "I cannot now," said he, "in my old age, abandon the principles for which I early contended; nor, in order to procure freedom during a few declining years, will I betray that good cause, on account of which I have suffered so much, and am still willing to suffer. It is better for me to enjoy, in this solitude, the esteem of virtuous men and the approbation of my own conscience; than to return into the world with the imputation and guilt of apostacy, to disgrace and embitter the remainder of my days¹⁵."

The contents of the Interim were no sooner known at Rome than the members of the sacred college were filled with rage and indignation. They exclaimed against the emperor's profane encroachment on the sacerdotal function, in presuming, with the concurrence of an assembly of laymen, to define articles of faith, and regulate modes of worship. They compared this rash deed to that of Uzziah, who with an unhallowed hand had touched the ark of God. But the pope, whose judgment was improved by longer experience in great transactions, and more extensive observation of human affairs, though displeased at the emperor's encroachment on his jurisdiction, viewed the matter with greater coolness. He perceived that Charles, by joining any one of the contending parties in Germany, might have had it in his power to crush the other, but that the presumption of success had now inspired him with the vain thought of being able to domineer over both; and he foresaw that a system which all attacked and none defended, could not be of long duration¹⁶. He was more sensibly affected by the emperor's political measures, and his own domestic concerns.

Charles, as I have already had occasion to notice, had married his natural daughter to the pope's grandson Octavio. On his own son Ludovico, Octavio's father, whose aggrandisement he had sincerely at heart, Paul bestowed the duchies of Parma and Placentia. But the emperor, less fond of aggrandising his daughter, whose children were to succeed to the inheritance, refused to grant to Ludovico the investiture of those territories, under pretence that they were appendages of the duchy of Milan. Enraged at such ungenerous conduct, the pope undertook to bestow himself that investiture which he craved; but the emperor persisted in refusing to confirm the deed. Hence a secret

¹⁵ Sleid. p. 462.—Robertson, book ix.

¹⁶ Paolo Sarpi, lib. iii.—Pallavicini lib. ii.

enmity took place between Paul and Charles, and one still stronger between Charles and Ludovico. To complete the pope's misfortunes, his son became one of the most detestable tyrants that ever disgraced human nature, and justly fell a sacrifice to his own crimes, and to the injuries of his oppressed subjects. Gonzaga, governor of Milan, who had watched for such an opportunity, and even abetted the conspirators, immediately took possession of Placentia, in the emperor's name, and reinstated the inhabitants in their ancient privileges. The imperialists likewise attempted to surprise Parma, but were disappointed by the vigilance and fidelity of the garrison¹⁷.

Paul was deeply afflicted for the loss of his son, whom notwithstanding his vices, he loved with an excess of parental affection, and immediately demanded of the emperor the punishment of Gonzaga, and the surrender of Placentia to Octavio.—But Charles evaded both demands: he chose rather to bear the infamy of defrauding his son-in-law of his patrimonial inheritance, and even to expose himself to the imputation of being accessory to the crime which had given him an opportunity of seizing it, than quit a possession of such value. An ambition so rapacious, and which no considerations either of decency or justice could restrain, transported Paul beyond his usual moderation. Eager to take arms against the emperor, but conscious of his inability to contend with such an enemy, he warmly solicited the king of France and the republic of Venice to take part in his quarrel; but finding all his negotiations ineffectual, he endeavoured to acquire by policy what he could not recover by force. Upon a supposition that Charles would not dare to detain the possessions of the Holy See, he proposed to re-unite to it Parma and Placentia, by recalling his grant of Parma A. D. 1549. from Octavio, whom he could indemnify by a new establishment in the ecclesiastical state, and by demanding Placentia from the emperor, as part of the patrimony of the church. But, while Paul was priding himself in this happy device, Octavio, an ambitious and high-spirited young man, having little faith in such a refinement of policy, and not choosing to abandon certainty for hope, applied to the emperor to protect him in his duchy¹⁸.

This unexpected defection of one of his own family, of the grandson whose fortune it had been the care of his declining years to build, to an enemy whom he hated, agitated the venerable pontiff beyond his strength, and is said to have occasioned that illness of which he soon after died¹⁹.—An historian, more sprightly than profound, and more keen than candid, has here

17 Thuan. lib. iv.—Mem. de Ribier. 18 Thuan. lib. vi.—Pallav. lib. ii. 19 Id. ibid.

affected to raise a smile, that “any other cause than *old age* should be assigned for the death of a *man of fourscore*²⁰,” and a more respectable historian, one equally elegant and learned, and no less intelligent than judicious, has laboured to prove that the pope’s “disease was the *natural effect of old age*, not one of those occasioned by *violence of passion*²¹.”—But both allow that Paul was *violently* affected when informed of Octavio’s undutiful conduct; and the latter informs us, that “he was seized with such a *transport of passion*, and *cried so bitterly*, that his voice was heard in several apartments of the palace;” that “his mind was *irritated almost to madness*.” And weak and credulous as some historians may be, and fond of “attributing the death of illustrious persons to extraordinary causes,” there is surely nothing extraordinary in supposing that mental *irritation* and *bitter crying* might occasion a *catarrh*, the distemper of which the pope died, or a *violent transport of passion* increase the natural imbecility of *old age*, and hasten a *man of fourscore* to the grave. It is a more extraordinary circumstance to observe, how violently some great men, from a desire of being thought superior to vulgar prejudices, will struggle against common sense.

Paul was succeeded by the cardinal de Monté, Julius III. who, as he owed his election to the Farnesé party, put Octavio in full possession of Parma. “I would rather,” replied he, when told what injury he did the Holy A. D. 1550. See by alienating a territory of such value, “be a poor pope with the reputation of a gentleman, than a rich one with the infamy of having forgotten the obligations conferred upon me, and the promises I made²².” He discovered less inclination, however, to observe the oath which each cardinal had taken when he entered the conclave, that, if the choice should fall on him, he would immediately call the general council to resume its deliberations. He knew by experience how difficult it was to confine the inquiries, or even the decisions of such a body of men, within the narrow limits which it was the interest of the court of Rome to prescribe. But, as the emperor persisted in his resolution of forcing the Protestants to return into the bosom of the church, and earnestly solicited that a council might be called, in order to combat their prejudices, and support his pious intentions, Julius could not with decency reject his request: and, willing to assume to himself the merit of a measure which seemed now to be necessary, and also to ingratiate himself more particularly with Charles, he pretended to deliberate on the

matter, and afterwards issued a bull for the council to re-assemble at Trent²³.

In the mean time, the emperor held a diet at Augsburg, to enforce the observance of the interim, and procure a more authentic act of the empire, acknowledging the jurisdiction of the council, as well as an explicit promise of conforming to its decrees. And such absolute ascendancy had he acquired over the members of the Germanic body, that he procured a recess, in which the authority of the council was recognised, and declared to be the proper remedy for the evils which afflicted the church. The observation of the Interim was more strictly enjoined than ever; and the emperor threatened all who neglected or refused to conform to it with the severest effects of his vengeance.

During the meeting of this diet, a new attempt was made to procure liberty to the landgrave. Having often applied to his sureties, Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg, who took every opportunity of soliciting the emperor in his behalf, though without effect, he now commanded his sons to summon them, with legal formality, to perform their engagements, by surrendering themselves to be treated as the emperor had treated him. Thus pushed to extremity, the sureties renewed their application to Charles. He endeavoured to prevail on the landgrave to give up the obligation which he had received from them; and when that prince refused to part with a security which he deemed essential to his safety, Charles, by a singular act of despotism, cut the knot which he could not untie. As if faith, honour, and conscience, had been subjected to his sway, he, by a public deed, annulled the bond which Maurice and the elector had granted, and absolved them from all their obligations to the landgrave²⁴! A power of cancelling those solemn contracts which are the foundation of that mutual confidence whereby men are held together in social union, was never claimed by the most despotic princes or arrogating priests of heathen antiquity: that enormous usurpation was reserved for the Roman pontiffs, who had rendered themselves odious by the exercise of such a pernicious prerogative. All Germany was therefore filled with astonishment when Charles assumed the same right. The princes who had hitherto contributed to his aggrandisement began to tremble for their own safety, and to take measures for preventing the danger.

The first check which Charles met with in his ambitious projects, and which convinced him that the Germans were not yet slaves, was in his attempt to transmit the empire, as well as the kingdom of Spain and his dominions in the Low Countries, to his son Philip. He had formerly assisted his brother Ferdinand

in obtaining the dignity of king of the Romans ; and that prince had not only studied to render himself acceptable to the people, but had a son who was born in Germany, grown up to the years of manhood, and who possessed in an eminent degree such qualities as rendered him the darling of his countrymen. The emperor however, warmed with contemplating this vast design, flattered himself that it was not impossible to prevail on the electors to cancel their former choice of Ferdinand, or at least to elect Philip a second king of the Romans, substituting him as next in succession to his uncle. With this view he took Philip, who had been educated in Spain, to the diet at Augsburg, that the Germans might have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the prince in whose behalf he solicited their interest; but all the electors concurred in expressing such strong disapprobation of the measure, that Charles was obliged to drop his project as impracticable. They foresaw, that by continuing the imperial crown, like an hereditary dignity, in the same family, they should give the son an opportunity of carrying on that system of oppression which the father had begun, and put it into his power to overturn whatever was yet left entire in the ancient and venerable fabric of the German constitution.

This plan of domestic ambition, which had long engrossed his thoughts, being laid aside, Charles imagined he should now have leisure to turn all his attention towards his grand scheme of establishing uniformity of religion in the empire, by forcing all the contending parties to acquiesce in the decisions of the council of Trent. But the machine which he had to conduct was so great and complicated, that an unforeseen irregularity, or obstruction in one of the inferior wheels, often disconcerted the motion of the whole, and disappointed him of the effect upon which he depended. Such an occurrence now happened, and created new obstacles to the execution of his religious plan.

Though Julius, during the first effusions of joy and gratitude on his promotion to the papal throne, had confirmed Octavio in the possession of Parma, he soon began to repent of his generosity. The emperor still retained possession of Placentia ; and the governor of Milan, a sworn enemy to the family of Farnesè, was preparing, by Charles's permission, to seize Parma. Octavio saw his danger ; and, sensible of his inability to defend himself against the imperial troops, he applied to the pope for protection, as a vassal of the Holy See. But the imperial minister having already pre-occupied the ear of Julius, Octavio's petition met with a cold reception. Despairing, therefore, of support from his holiness, he requested aid from Henry II. of France, who, having not only settled his domestic concerns, but

brought his transactions with the two British kingdoms, which had diverted his attention from the affairs of the continent, to such an issue as he desired, was at full leisure to pursue the measures which his hereditary jealousy of the emperor's power naturally suggested. He accordingly listened to the overtures of Octavio, and furnished him with the desired assistance.

The war of Parma, where the French took the field as the allies of the duke, and the imperialists as the protectors of the Holy See, the pope having declared Octavio's fief forfeited, was distinguished by no memorable event; but the alarm which it occasioned in Italy prevented most of the Italian prelates from repairing to Trent on the day appointed for re-assembling the council; so that the legate and nuncios found it necessary to adjourn to a future day, hoping that such a number might then assemble as would enable them in decency to begin their deliberations. When that day came, the French ambassador demanded audience, and protested, in his master's name, against an assembly called at such an improper juncture; when a war, wantonly kindled by the pope, rendered it impossible for the deputies of the Gallican church to resort to Trent in safety, or to deliberate upon articles of faith and discipline with the requisite tranquillity. He declared, that Henry did not acknowledge this to be an œcumenic council, but must consider and would treat it as a partial convention²⁵.

This declaration gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the commencement of its deliberations. The legate, however, affected to despise Henry's protest; the prelates proceeded to determine the great points in controversy concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, penance, and extreme unction; and the emperor strained his authority to the utmost, in order to establish the reputation and jurisdiction of that assembly. The Protestants were prohibited from teaching any doctrine contrary to its decrees, or to the tenets of the Romish church; and, on their refusing compliance, their pastors were ejected and exiled; such magistrates as had distinguished themselves by their attachment to the new opinions were dismissed; their offices were filled with the most bigoted of their adversaries; and the people were compelled to attend the ministration of priests whom they regarded as idolaters, and to submit to the authority of rulers whom they detested as usurpers²⁶.

These tyrannical measures fully opened the eyes of Maurice of Saxony and other Lutheran princes, who, allured by the promise of liberty of conscience, and the prospect of farther advantages, had assisted the emperor in the war against the confederates of Smalcalde. Maurice, in particular, who had long

²⁵ Paolo Sarpi, lib. iv.—Robertson, book x.

²⁶ *Id.* lib. i.

beheld with jealous concern the usurpations of Charles, now saw the necessity of setting bounds to them ; and he who had perfidiously stripped his nearest relative and benefactor of his hereditary possessions, and been chiefly instrumental in bringing to the verge of ruin the civil and religious liberties of his country, became the deliverer of Germany.

The policy with which he conducted himself in the execution of his design was truly admirable. He was so perfect a master of address and dissimulation, that he retained the emperor's confidence, while he recovered the good opinion of the Protestants. As he knew Charles to be inflexible with respect to the submission which he required to the Interim, he did not hesitate a moment whether he should establish that form of doctrine and worship in his dominions : he even undertook to reduce to obedience the citizens of Magdeburg, who persisted in rejecting it ; and he was chosen general, by a diet assembled at Augsburg, of the imperial army levied for that purpose. But he at the same time issued a declaration, containing professions of his zealous attachment to the reformed religion, as well as of his resolution to guard against all the errors and encroachments of the papal see ; and he entered his protest against the authority of the council of Trent, unless the Protestant divines should have a full hearing granted them, and be allowed to have an operative voice in that assembly ; unless the pope should renounce his pretensions to preside in it, should engage to submit to its decrees, and to absolve the bishops from their oath of obedience, that they might deliver their sentiments with greater freedom. He reduced Magdeburg, after a siege of twelve months, protracted by design, in order that his schemes might be ripened before his army was disbanded. The public articles of capitulation were perfectly conformable to the emperor's views, and sufficiently severe. But Maurice gave the magistrates secret assurances that their city should not be dismantled, and that the inhabitants should neither be disturbed in the exercise of their religion, nor deprived of any of their ancient privileges ; and they, in their turn, elected him their burgrave—a dignity which had formerly belonged to the electoral house of Saxony, and which entitled its possessor to very ample jurisdiction both in the city and its dependencies.

Far from suspecting any thing fraudulent or collusive in the terms of accommodation, the emperor ratified them without hesitation, freely absolving the Magdeburgers from the sentence of ban denounced against them ; and Maurice, under various pretences, kept his veteran troops in pay ; while Charles, engaged in directing the affairs of the council, entertained no apprehension of his views. But, before we state the result of these

schemes, some account must be given of a new revolution in Hungary, which contributed not a little toward the extraordinary success of Maurice's operations.

When Solyman deprived the young king of Hungary of his realm, he allowed him to retain Transylvania. The government of this province was committed to Isabella the queen-mother, and Martinuzzi bishop of Waradin, whom Zapol had appointed his son's guardians, and regents of his dominions. This co-ordinate jurisdiction occasioned the same dissensions in a small principality which it would have excited in a great monarchy. The queen and bishop grew jealous of each other's authority : both had their partisans amongst the nobility ; but as Martinuzzi, by his superior talents, began to acquire the ascendant, Isabella courted the protection of the Turks. The politic prelate saw his danger; and, through the mediation of some of the nobles, who were solicitous to save their country from the calamities of civil war, he concluded an agreement with the queen. But he, at the same time, entered into a negotiation with the king of the Romans, whom he offered to assist in expelling the Turks, and in recovering possession of the Hungarian throne.

Allured by such a flattering prospect, Ferdinand agreed notwithstanding his truce with Solyman, to invade the principality of Transylvania. The troops destined for that service, consisting of veteran Spanish and German soldiers, were commanded by Castaldo marquis de Piadena, an officer of great knowledge in the art of war, who was powerfully seconded by Martinuzzi and his faction ; and the soltan being then at the head of his forces on the borders of Persia, the Turkish governors and officers could not afford the queen such immediate or effectual assistance as the urgency of her affairs required. She was, therefore, obliged to listen to such conditions as she would at any other time have rejected with disdain. She agreed to give up Transylvania to Ferdinand, and to make over to him her son's title to the crown of Hungary, in exchange for the principalities of Oppelen and Ratibor in Silesia.

Martinuzzi, as the reward of his services, was appointed governor of Transylvania, with almost unlimited authority, and he proved himself worthy of it. He conducted the war against the Turks with equal ability and success ; and he established the dominion of the king of the Romans, not only in Transylvania, but in several of the adjacent countries. Always, however, afraid of the talents of Martinuzzi, Ferdinand now became jealous of his power ; and Castaldo, by imputing to the governor designs which he never formed, and charging him with actions of which he was not guilty, at last convinced the king of the

Romans that, in order to preserve his Hungarian crown, he must cut off that ambitious prelate. The fatal mandate was accordingly issued : Castaldo willingly undertook to execute it : Martinuzzi was assassinated. But Ferdinand, instead of the security which he expected from that barbarous measure, found his Hungarian territories only exposed to more certain danger. The nobles, detesting such jealous and cruel policy, either retired to their own estates, or grew cold in the service, if they continued with the Austrian army ; while the Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whose vigour and abilities they dreaded, prepared to renew hostilities with fresh vigour²⁷.

Maurice, in the mean time, having almost finished his intrigues and preparations, was on the point of taking the field against the emperor. He had concluded a treaty with the French king, who wished to distinguish himself, by trying his strength against the same enemy whom it had been the glory of his father's reign to oppose. But as it would have been indecent in a popish prince to undertake the defence of the Protestant church, the interests of religion, how much soever they might be affected by the treaty, were not mentioned in any of the articles. The only motives assigned for now leaguering against Charles were to procure the liberation of the landgrave, and to prevent the subversion of the ancient constitution and laws of the German empire. Religious concerns the confederates pretended to commit entirely to the care of Providence.

Having secured the protection of the French monarch, Maurice proceeded with great confidence, but equal caution, to execute his plan. As he judged it necessary to demand once more, before he took off the mask, that the landgrave should be set at liberty, he sent a solemn embassy, in A. D. 1552. which most of the German princes joined, to the emperor at Inspruck, in order to enforce his request. Constant to his system in regard to the captive prince, Charles eluded the demand, though urged by such powerful intercessors. But this application, though of no benefit to the landgrave, was of infinite service to Maurice. It served to justify his subsequent proceedings, and to demonstrate the necessity of taking arms, with a view of extorting that equitable concession which his mediation or entreaty could not obtain. He accordingly despatched Albert of Brandenburg to Paris, to hasten the march of the French army: he took measures to bring his own troops together on the first summons; and he provided for the security of Saxony, while he should be absent.

These complicated operations were carried on with such secrecy, as to elude the observation of Charles, whose sagacity in

²⁷ Istvanhaffi. Hist. Reg. Hung. lib. xvi.—Mem. de Ribier, tome ii.

observing the conduct of all around him, commonly led him to excess of distrust. He remained in perfect tranquillity at Inspruck, solely occupied in counteracting the intrigues of the pope's legate at Trent, and in settling the conditions on which the Protestant divines should be admitted into the council. Even Granville, bishop of Arras, his prime minister, though one of the most subtle statesmen of that, or perhaps of any age, was deceived by the exquisite address with which Maurice concealed his designs. "A drunken German head," replied he to the doubts expressed by the duke of Alva concerning the elector's sincerity, "is too gross to form any scheme which I cannot easily penetrate and baffle." Granville was on this occasion, however, the dupe of his own artifice. He had bribed two of Maurice's ministers, on whose information he depended for their master's intentions; but that prince having fortunately discovered their perfidy, instead of punishing them for their crime, dexterously availed himself of the fraud. He affected to treat these ministers with greater confidence than ever: he admitted them into his consultations, and seemed to lay open his heart to them; while he really informed them of nothing but what it was his interest should be known; and they transmitted to Inspruck such accounts as lulled the crafty Granville into security²⁸.

At last Maurice's preparations were completed: and he had the satisfaction to find, that his intrigues and designs were still unknown. But although ready to take the field, he did not yet lay aside the arts he had hitherto employed. Pretending to be indisposed, he despatched one of the ministers whom Granville had bribed to inform the emperor that he meant soon to wait upon him at Inspruck, and to apologise for his delay. When he had assembled his army, which amounted to twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, he announced in form his reasons for taking arms; namely, to secure the Protestant religion, to maintain the German constitution, and deliver the landgrave of Hesse from the miseries of a long and unjust imprisonment. To this the king of France, in his own name, added a manifesto, in which he assumed the extraordinary appellation of *Protector of the Liberties of Germany and its captive Princes*²⁹.

No words can express the emperor's astonishment at events so unexpected. He was not in a condition to oppose such formidable enemies. His embarrassment increased their confidence: their operations were equally bold and successful. The king of France immediately entered Lorraine, and made himself master of Toul, Verdun, and Metz; while Maurice, no less intrepid and enterprising in the field than cautious and crafty in the cabinet, traversed all Upper Germany, reinstating the magistrates whom

Charles had deposed, and putting the ejected Protestant ministers in possession of the churches.

The emperor had recourse to negotiation, the only resource of the weak ; and Maurice, conscious of his own political talents, and willing to manifest a pacific disposition, agreed to an interview with the king of the Romans at Lintz, leaving his army to proceed on its march, under the command of the duke of Mecklenburg. Nothing was determined in the conference at Lintz, except that another should be holden at Passau. Meanwhile Maurice continued his operations with vigour. He marched directly toward Inspruck ; and, hoping to surprise the emperor in that town, he advanced with the most rapid motion that could be given to so great a body of men, forcing several strong passes, and bearing down all resistance.

Charles was happily informed of his danger a few hours before the enemy's arrival ; and although the night was far advanced, dark, and rainy, he immediately fled over the Alps in a litter, being so much afflicted with the gout, as to be incapable of any other mode of travelling. Enraged at the escape of his prey, when he was on the point of seizing it, Maurice pursued the emperor and his attendants some miles : but finding it impossible to overtake men whose flight was hastened by fear, he returned to Inspruck, and abandoned the emperor's baggage to the pillage of the soldiers. Charles pursued his journey, and arrived in safety at Villach in Carinthia, where he continued till the disputes were finally adjusted with the Protestant princes³⁰.

In consequence of Maurice's operations, the council of Trent broke up. The German prelates, anxious for the safety of their territories, returned home ; the rest were extremely desirous of departing; and the legate, who had hitherto disappointed all the endeavours of the imperial ambassadors to procure the Protestant divines an audience in the council, gladly made use of such a plausible pretext for dismissing an assembly, which he had found it so difficult to govern³¹. The breach which had unhappily been made in the church, instead of being closed, was widened; and all mankind became sensible of the inefficacy of a general council for reconciling the contending parties.

The victorious Maurice repaired to Passau, on the day appointed for the second conference with the king of the Romans; and as points of the greatest consequence to the future peace and independence of the empire was then to be agitated, thither resorted the ministers of all the electors, together with deputies from most of the considerable princes and free cities. The elector limited his demand to three articles set forth in his manifesto : namely, the liberty of the landgrave, the public exercise of

the Protestant religion, and the re-establishment of the ancient constitution of Germany.

These demands, which seemed extravagant to the imperial ambassadors, were presented by Ferdinand to the emperor, in the name of all the princes of the empire, Popish as well as Protestant; in the name of such as had assisted in forwarding his ambitious schemes, as well as of those who had viewed the progress of his power with jealousy and dread. Unwilling, however, to forego at once objects which he had so long pursued with ardour and hope, Charles, notwithstanding his need of peace, was deaf to the united voice of Germany. He rejected the proffered terms with disdain; and Maurice, well acquainted with the emperor's arts, suspecting that he meant only to amuse and deceive by a show of negotiation, immediately rejoined his troops, and laid siege to Frankfort on the Maine. July 17. This measure had the desired effect. Firm and haughty as his nature was, Charles found it necessary to make concessions; and Maurice thought it more prudent to accept conditions less advantageous than those he had proposed, than again commit all to the doubtful issue of war³². He therefore repaired once more to Passau, renewed the congress, and concluded a peace on the following terms:—"The confederates shall lay down their arms before the 12th day of August; the landgrave shall be restored to liberty, on or before that day; a diet shall be holden within six months, in order to deliberate on the most effectual method of preventing for the future all dissensions concerning religion; in the mean time, no injury shall be offered to such as adhere to the Confession of Augsburg, nor shall the Catholics be molested in the exercise of their religion; the imperial chamber shall administer justice impartially to persons of both parties, and Protestants be admitted indiscriminately with Catholics to sit as judges in that court; the encroachments, said to have been made upon the constitution and liberties of Germany, shall be referred to the consideration of the approaching diet of the empire; and if that diet should not be able to terminate the disputes respecting religion, the stipulations in the present treaty, in behalf of the Protestants, shall continue for ever in full force³³."

Such, my dear Philip, was the memorable treaty of Passau, which set limits to the authority of Charles V., overturned the vast fabric which he had employed so many years in erecting, and established the Protestant church in Germany upon a firm and secure basis. It is remarkable that in this treaty no article was inserted in favour of the king of France, to whom the confederates had been so much indebted for their success. But

³² Thuan. lib. x.

³³ Recueil des Traitez, tome ii.

Henry II. experienced only the treatment which every prince, who lends his aid to the authors of a civil war, may expect. As soon as the rage of faction began to subside, and any prospect of accommodation to open, his services were forgotten, and his associates made a merit with their sovereign of the ingratitude with which they had abandoned their protector.

The French monarch, however, sensible that it was more his interest to remain on good terms with the Germanic body than to resent the indignities offered by any particular members of it, concealed his displeasure at the perfidy of Maurice and his associates. He even affected to talk, in the same strain as formerly, of his zeal for maintaining the ancient constitution and liberties of the empire. And he prepared to defend, by force of arms, his conquests in Lorrain, which he foresaw Charles would take the first opportunity of wresting from him. But before I relate the events of the new wars to which those conquests gave birth, we must take a view of the affairs of our own island; a more contracted but not less turbulent scene, and more discoloured by horrors and cruelties than the continent, during the dark and changeable period that followed the death of Henry VIII. and terminated in the steady government of Elizabeth.

34 Robertson, book x.

LETTER LXIV.

History of England, from the death of Henry VIII. to the Accession of Elizabeth, in 1558; with an account of the Affairs of Scotland, and of the Progress of the Reformation in both the British Kingdoms.

HENRY VIII., by his will, left the crown, first to prince Edward, his son by Jane Seymour; then to the princess Mary, his daughter by Catharine of Arragon; and lastly to Elizabeth, his daughter by the unfortunate Anne A. D. 1547. Boleyn, though both princesses had been declared illegitimate by parliament. These particulars, my dear Philip, are necessary to be mentioned here, that you may better understand the disputes which arose with regard to the succession.

Edward VI. being only nine years of age at the time of his father's death, the government of the kingdom was committed to sixteen executors, among whom were the archbishop of Can-

terbury and all the great officers of state. They chose one of their number, namely, the earl of Hertford, the king's maternal uncle, instantly created duke of Somerset, to represent the royal majesty, under the title of Protector; to whom despatches from English ministers abroad should be directed, and whose names should be employed in all orders and proclamations. Him they invested with all the exterior symbols of regal dignity; and he procured a patent from the young king, investing him also with regal power¹.

This patent (in which the executors are not even mentioned) being surreptitiously obtained from a minor, the protectorship of Somerset was a palpable usurpation; but, as the executors acquiesced in the new establishment, and the king discovered a strong attachment to his uncle; who was a man of moderation and probity, few objections were made to his power or title. Other causes conspired to confirm both. Somerset had long been regarded as the secret partisan of the reformers, who had become the most numerous and respectable body of men in the kingdom; and, being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to disclose his intention of correcting all abuses in the ancient religion, and of adopting still more of the Protestant innovations. He also took care that the king should be educated in the same principles. To these Edward soon discovered a zeal-out attachment; and, as the people foresaw, in the course of his reign, the total abolition of the Catholic faith in England, they began early and very generally to declare themselves in favour of those tenets, which were likely to become in the end triumphant, and of that authority by which they were propagated.

In his schemes for advancing the progress of the Reformation, the protector had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, whose moderation and prudence disinclined him to all violent changes, and determined him to draw over the people, by insensible gradations, to that system of doctrine and discipline which he esteemed the most pure and perfect². And to these moderate counsels we are indebted, not only for the full establishment of the Protestant religion in England; but also for that happy medium between superstition and enthusiasm observable in the constitution of the English church. The fabric of the secular hierarchy was left and maintained entire; the ancient liturgy was preserved, as far as it was thought consistent with the new principles; many ceremonies, venerable from age and preceding use, were retained; and the distinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued. No innovation was admitted merely from a spirit of opposition, or a fanatical

¹ Burnet's Hist. Reformat. vol. ii

² Burnet's Hist. Reformat. vol. ii.

love of novelty. The establishment of the church of England was a work of reason.

As soon as the English government was brought to some degree of composure, the protector made preparations for a war with Scotland; determined to execute, if possible, that project of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been so intent, and which seemed once so near a happy issue, but which had been defeated by the intrigues of cardinal Beaton. This politic and powerful prelate, though not able to prevent the parliament of Scotland from agreeing to the treaty of marriage and union with England, being then in the hands of the Protestant party, afterwards regained his authority, and acquired sufficient influence, not only to oblige the earl of Arran, who had succeeded him in the regency, to renounce his alliance with Henry VIII. but also to abjure the principles of the Reformation, to which he seemed zealously attached, and reconcile himself, in 1543, to the Romish communion, in the Franciscan church at Stirling³.

The fatal effects of this change in the religious and political sentiments of the regent were long felt in Scotland. Arran's apostacy may even perhaps be considered as the remote cause of all the civil broils which afflicted both kingdoms in the subsequent century, and which terminated in the final expulsion of the house of Stuart, of which the infant queen of Scots was now the sole representative. The southern and most fertile parts of the kingdom were suddenly ravaged by an English army. Desultory hostilities ensued with various success, and without any decisive event. At length an end was put to that ruinous and inglorious warfare, by the peace concluded between Henry VIII. and Francis I. at Campe, in 1546; the French monarch generously stipulating, that his Scottish allies should be included in the treaty. The religious consequences were more serious and lasting, and their political influence was great.

The Scottish regent consented to every thing that the zeal of the cardinal thought necessary for the preservation of the established religion. The reformers were cruelly persecuted, and many were condemned to that dreadful punishment which the church has appointed for its enemies. Among those who were committed to the flames was a popular preacher named George Wishart; a man of honourable birth, and of primitive sanctity, who possessed in an eminent degree the talent of seizing the attention and engaging the affections of the multitude. Wishart suffered with the patience of a martyr; but he could not forbear remarking the barbarous triumph of his insulting adversary, who beheld from a window of his sumptuous palace the inhu-

man spectacle :—and he foretold, that in a few days the cardinal should, in the same place, lie as low as he now stood high; in opposition to true piety and religion⁴.

This prophesy, like many others, was probably the cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of Wishart, enraged at his cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against Betoun; and having associated with them Norman Leslie, eldest son of the earl of Rothes, who was instigated by revenge on account of private injuries, they surprised the cardinal in his palace or castle at St. Andrews, and instantly put him to death. One of the assassins, named James Melvil, before he struck the fatal blow, turned the point of the sword towards Beatoun, and in a tone of pious exhortation called to him, “ Repent, thou wicked cardinal; of all thy sins and iniquities, but especially of the murder of George Wishart, that instrument of Christ for the conversion of these lands. It is his death which now cries for vengeance. We are sent by God to inflict the deserved punishment upon thee⁵. ”

The conspirators took possession of the castle, prepared for a vigorous defence, and sent a messenger to London, craving assistance from Henry VIII. The death of that prince, which happened soon after, blasted all their hopes. They received, however, during the siege, supplies both of money and provisions from England; and if they had been able to hold out only a few weeks longer, they would have escaped that severe capitulation to which they were reduced, not by the regent alone, but by a body of troops sent to his assistance from France.

Somerset entered Scotland at the head of eighteen thousand men; while a fleet of sixty sail, one half of which consisted of ships of war, and the other of vessels laden with provisions and military stores, appeared on the coast, in order to second his operations, and supply his army. The earl of Arran had for some time observed this storm gathering, and was prepared to meet it. His army, double in number to that of the enemy, was posted to the greatest advantage on a rising ground, guarded by the banks of the river Eske, a little above Musselburg, when the protector came in view. Alarmed at the sight of a force so formidable, and so happily disposed, Somerset made an overture of peace to the regent, on conditions very admissible. He offered to withdraw his troops, and compensate the damage he had done by his inroad, provided the Scots would engage to keep their young queen at home, and not contract her to any foreign prince, until she should attain the age of maturity, when she might choose a husband without the consent of her council. But this moderate demand was rejected by the regent with disdain, and merely on

⁴ Spotswood.—Buchanan.

⁵ Knox.—Keith.

account of its moderation. It was imputed to fear; and Arran, confident of success, was afraid of nothing but the escape of the English army. He therefore left his strong camp, as soon as he saw the protector begin to move toward the sea, suspecting that he intended to embark on board his fleet; and passing the river Eske, advanced into the plain, and attacked the English army near the village of Pinkney, with no better success than his rashness deserved.

Having drawn up his troops on an eminence, Somerset had now the advantage of ground on his side. The Scottish army consisted chiefly of infantry, whose principal weapon was a long spear, and whose files for that reason were as deep as their ranks were close. A body so compact and firm, easily resisted the attack of the English cavalry, broke them, and drove them off the field. Lord Grey, their commander, was dangerously wounded; lord Edward Seymour, son of the protector, had his horse killed under him, and the royal standard was near falling into the hands of the enemy. But the Scots being galled by the protector's artillery in front, and by the fire from the ships in flank, while the English archers, and a body of foreign fusileers, poured in volleys of shot from all quarters, they at last began to give way: the rout became general, and the whole field was soon a scene of confusion, terror, and flight. The pursuit was long and bloody. Ten thousand of the Scots are said to have fallen, and but a very inconsiderable number of the conquering enemy.^o Sept. 10.

This victory, however, which seemed to threaten Scotland with final subjection, was of no real utility to England. It induced the Scots to throw themselves into the arms of France, and send their young queen to be educated in that kingdom; a measure universally regarded as a prelude to her marriage with the dauphin, and which effectually disappointed the views of Somerset, and proved the source of Mary's accomplishments as a woman, and of her misfortunes as a queen. The Scottish nobles, in taking this step, hurried away by the violence of resentment, seem to have forgotten that zeal for the independence of their crown, which had made them violate their engagements with Henry VIII. and oppose with such ardour the arms of the protector.

The cabals of the English court obliged the duke of Somerset to return before he could take any effectual measures for the subjection of Scotland; and the supplies which the Scots received from France, enabled them in a great measure to expel their invaders, while the protector was employed in re-establishing his authority, and quelling domestic A. D. 1548.

insurrections. His brother, lord Seymour, a man of insatiable ambition, had married the queen dowager, and openly aspired at the government of the kingdom. In order to attain this object, he endeavoured to seduce the young king to his interests; found means to hold a private correspondence with him, and publicly decried the protector's administration. He had brought over to his party many of the principal nobility, together with some of the most populous persons of inferior rank; and he had provided arms for ten thousand men, whom it was computed he could muster from among his own domestics and retainers⁷.

Though apprised of all these alarming circumstances, Somerset showed no inclination to proceed to extremities. He endeavoured by the most friendly expedients, by reason, entreaty, and even by loading Seymour with new favours, to make him desist from such dangerous politics. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more serious remedies; and the earl of Warwick, who hoped to raise his fortune on the ruin of both, inflamed the quarrel between the brothers. A. D. 1549. By his advice lord Seymour was committed to the Tower, attainted of high treason, condemned, and executed⁸.

The protector had now leisure to complete the reformation, which was now the chief object of concern throughout the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the privy-council to compose a liturgy: they had executed the work committed to them, as already observed, with judgment and moderation; and they not unreasonably flattered themselves, that they had framed a service in which every denomination of Christians might concur. This form of worship, nearly the same with that which is at present authorised by law, was established by parliament in all the churches, and uniformity was ordered to be observed in all the ceremonies⁹.

Thus, my dear Philip, in the course of a few years, was the Reformation happily completed in England; and its civil and religious consequences have since been deservedly valued. But there is no abuse in society so great as to be destitute of some advantages; and in the beginnings of innovation the loss of those advantages is always sensibly felt by the bulk of a nation, before it can perceive the benefits resulting from the desirable change.

No institution can be imagined less favourable to the interests of mankind than that of the monastic life; yet was it followed by some effects which, having ceased at the suppression of monasteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks, by always residing at their convents, in the centre of

⁷ State Papers published by Haynes, p. 105, 106.

⁹ Stat. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. i.

⁸ Burnet, vol. ii.

their estates, spent their money in the country, and afforded a ready market for commodities. They were also acknowledged to have been in England, what they still are in kingdoms where the Romish religion is established, the best and most indulgent landlords ; being restricted by the rules of their order to a certain mode of living, and consequently having fewer motives for extortion than other men. The abbots and priors were besides accustomed to grant leases at an under value, and to receive a present in return. But the abbey lands fell under different management, when distributed among the principal nobility and gentry ; the rents of farms were raised, while the tenants found not the same facility in disposing of the produce. The money was often spent in the capital ; and, to increase the evil, pasturage in that age being found more profitable than tillage, whole estates were laid waste by inclosure. The farmers, regarded as an useless burthen, were expelled from their habitations ; and the cottagers, deprived even of the commons, on which they had formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to beggary¹⁰.

These grievances of the common people occasioned insurrections in several parts of England ; and Somerset, who loved popularity, imprudently encouraged them, by endeavouring to afford that redress which was not in his power. Tranquillity, however was soon restored to the kingdom by the vigilance of lord Russel and the earl of Warwick, who slew many of the unhappy malcontents, and dispersed the rest. But the protector never recovered his authority. The nobility and gentry were in general displeased with the preference which he seemed to have given to the people ; and as they ascribed all the insults which they had suffered during the insurrections to his procrastination, and to the countenance shown to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the same disorders from his passion for popular fame. His enemies even attempted to turn the rage of the populace against him, by working upon the lower class among the Catholics ; and having gained over to their party the mayor of London, the lieutenant of the Tower, and many of the great officers of state, they obliged Somerset to resign the protectorship, and committed him to custody. A council of regency was formed, in which the earl of Warwick, who had conducted this revolution, bore the chief sway ; and he actually governed the kingdom without the invidious title of protector¹¹.

The first act of Warwick's administration was the negotiation of a treaty of peace with France and with Scotland. Henry II. had taken advantage of the disturbances A. D. 1550. in England to recover several places in the Boulonnois, and even to lay siege, though without effect, to Boulogne itself. He now

10 Strype, vol. ii

11 Stow.—Burnet

took advantage, in treating, of the state of the English court. Sensible of the importance of peace to Warwick, and his party, he refused to pay the two millions of crowns which his predecessor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of former stipulations. He would never consent, he said, to render himself tributary to any prince, alluding to the reversion of annual payments demanded; but he offered a large sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne and its territory. Four hundred thousand crowns were agreed on as the equivalent. Scotland was comprehended in this treaty. The English stipulated to restore some fortresses, which they still held in that kingdom¹².

Having thus established his administration, freed the kingdom from all foreign danger, and gained partisans, who were disposed to second him in every domestic enterprise, the earl of Warwick began to think of carrying into execution those vast projects which he had formed for his own aggrandisement. The last earl of Northumberland had died without issue; and as his brother, sir Thomas Percy, had been attainted on account of the share which he took in the Yorkshire insurrection during the late reign, the title was at present extinct, and the estate was vested in the crown. Warwick procured for himself a grant of
 A. D. 1551. that large estate, which lay chiefly in the North, the most warlike part of the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. This was a great step; but there was yet a strong bar in the way of his ambition. Somerset, though degraded, and lessened in the public esteem in consequence of his spiritless conduct, continued to possess a considerable share of popularity. Northumberland, therefore, resolved to ruin that unfortunate peer. For this purpose, he employed his emissaries to suggest desperate projects to the
 A. D. 1552. duke, and afterwards accused him of high treason for seeming to acquiesce in them. Somerset was tried, condemned, and executed on Tower-hill; and four of his friends shared the same unjust and unhappy fate. His death was sincerely lamented by the people, who regarded him as a martyr in their cause. Many of them dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique¹³.

The duke of Northumberland might seem to have now attained the highest point of elevation to which a subject could aspire, and the greatest degree of power. His rank was second only to the royal family, his estate was one of the largest in the kingdom, and the government was entirely under his direction. But he aimed at yet great power and consequence: his ambition knew no bounds. Having procured a parliament, which ratified his

12 Rymer, vol. xv.

13 Hayward's Life of Edward VI.—Holinshed.

most despotic measures, and regulated its proceedings according to his will, he endeavoured to ingratiate himself more particularly with the young king, by manifesting an uncommon zeal for the reformed religion; to which the opening mind of Edward was warmly devoted, and the interests of which more sensibly touched him than all other objects.

In his frequent conversations on this subject, Northumberland took occasion to represent to that pious prince, whose health began visibly to decline, the danger to A. D. 1553. which the Reformation would be exposed, should his sister Mary, a bigoted Catholic, succeed to the throne of England; that, although no such objection lay against the princess Elizabeth, he could not, with any degree of propriety, exclude one sister, without also excluding the other; that both had been declared illegitimate by parliament; that the queen of Scotland was excluded by the late king's will, and was besides attached to the church of Rome; that these princesses being set aside for such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, eldest daughter of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, and the French queen, Henry the Eighth's youngest sister; and that the apparent successor to the marchioness was her daughter, lady Jane Grey, who was every way worthy of a crown.

These arguments made a deep impression upon the mind of Edward. He had long lamented the obstinacy of his sister Mary, in adhering to the Romish communion, and seemed to foresee all the horrors of her reign. He respected and even loved Elizabeth. But lady Jane Grey, being of the same age, had been educated with him, and had commanded his esteem and admiration by the progress which she made in every branch of literature. He had enjoyed full opportunity of becoming acquainted with the purity of her religious principles, a circumstance that weighed with him above every other consideration in the choice of a successor; and it also seems probable, that her elegant person and amiable disposition had inspired his heart with a tender affection. He, therefore, listened to the proposal of disinheriting his sisters, with a patience which would otherwise have been highly criminal.

In the present languishing state of the king's health, after all the arguments that had been used, it was not a very difficult matter to obtain a deed from him in favour of lady Jane, whom the duke had married to his fourth son, lord Guildford Dudley. Greater opposition arose from the judges, and other persons necessary to the execution of such a deed. But they, at last, were all silenced, either by threats or promises; and the great seal was affixed to the king's letters patent, settling the crown

on the heirs of the marchioness of Dorset, then duchess of Suffolk, she herself being content to give place to her daughters, or, in other words, to lady Jane. .

The king died soon after this singular transaction; and so much the sooner by being put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook to restore him, in a little time, to his former state of health.—Most of our historians, but especially such as were well affected to the Reformation, dwell with peculiar pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince, whom (as an elegant writer observes) the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of fond regard to the public: and if we make allowance for the delicacy of his frame, and the manners of the age in which he lived, he seems to have possessed all the accomplishments that could be expected in a youth of fifteen.

Aware of the opposition that would be made to the concerted change in the succession, Northumberland had carefully concealed the destination of the crown signed by Edward. He even kept that prince's death a secret for a while, in hopes of getting the two princesses into his power. With this view, he engaged the council to desire their attendance at court, under pretence that the king's infirm state of health required the assistance of their advice, and the consolation of their company. They instantly left their several retreats in the country, and set out for London; but happily, before their arrival, they gained intelligence of their brother's death, and of the conspiracy formed against themselves. Mary, who had advanced as far as Hoddesdon, when she received this notice, made haste to retire, and wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county of England, commanding them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person.

Farther dissimulation, Northumberland now saw, would be fruitless; he therefore went to Sion-house, where lady Jane Grey resided, accompanied by a body of the nobles, and, approaching her with the respect usually paid to the sovereign, informed her of her elevation to the throne. Lady Jane, who was in a great measure ignorant of the intrigues of her father-in-law, received this information with equal grief and surprise. She even refused to accept the crown; pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses; expressed her dread of the consequences attending an enterprise so dangerous and so criminal, and begged to remain in that private station in which she was born. Her heart, full of the passion for literature, and the elegant arts, and of affection for her husband, who was worthy of all her regard, had never opened itself to the flattering allurements of ambition. Subdued, however, by the entreaties, ra-

ther than the reasons, of her relatives, she submitted to their will; and the duke immediately conveyed her to London, where she was proclaimed queen, but without one applauding voice. The people heard the proclamation with silence and concern: the very preachers employed their eloquence in vain to convince their auditors of the justice of Lady Jane's title. Respect for the royal line, and indignation against the Dudleys, were stronger, even in the breasts of the Protestants, than the dread of popery¹⁴.

When Mary appeared in Suffolk, the inhabitants resorted to her in crowds; and when she assured them, that she did not intend to alter the laws of Edward VI. concerning religion, they zealously enlisted themselves in her cause. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her with reinforcements. Sir Edward Hastings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, carried over to her four thousand men, levied for the support of her rival. The fleet declared for her. Even the duke of Suffolk, who commanded in the tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates of the fortress: and lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during nine days, returned without a sigh to the privacy of domestic life. The council ordered Mary to be proclaimed; and Northumberland, deserted by his followers, and despairing of success, complied with that order with exterior marks of joy and satisfaction. He was brought to trial however, condemned, and beheaded, for high-treason. Sentence was also pronounced against lady Jane Grey, and lord Guildford Dudley; but they were respited on account of their youth, neither of them having attained the age of seventeen¹⁵.

No sooner had Mary ascended the throne than a total change of men and measures took place. They who had languished in confinement, were lifted to the helm of power, and entrusted with the government of the church as well as of the state. Gardiner, Bonner, and other catholic bishops, were restored to their sees, and admitted to the queen's favour and confidence; while the most eminent Protestant prelates and zealous reformers, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Coverdale, and Cranmer, were thrown into prison. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten, because they presumed to plead the queen's promise of maintaining the reformed religion; and one, more bold than the rest, for recalling to her memory the engagements into which she had entered when they enlisted themselves in her service, was exposed in the pillory. A parliament was procured entirely conformable to the sentiments of the court, and a bill passed, declaring the queen to be legitimate; ratifying the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catharine of Arragon, and annulling the divorce pronounced

14 Burnet.—Fox.—Heylin.

15 Heylin.—Burnet.

by Cranmer. All the statutes of Edward VI. respecting religion were repealed; and the queen sent assurances to the pope of her earnest desire of reconciling herself and her kingdoms to the Holy See, and requested that cardinal Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office¹⁶.

Reginald Pole was descended from the royal family of England, being grandson of George duke of Clarence. He gave early indications of that fine genius, and generous disposition, by which he was so much distinguished during his more advanced age; and Henry VIII. having conceived a great friendship for him, proposed to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities. As a pledge of future favours, Henry conferred on him the deanery of Exeter, the better to support him in his education. But when that monarch was at variance with the court of Rome, Pole refused to second his measures, and even wrote against him in a treatise on the *Unity of the Church*. This performance produced an irreparable breach between the young ecclesiastic and his sovereign, and blasted all Pole's hopes of rising in the English church. He was not, however, allowed to sink. The pope and the emperor thought themselves bound to provide for a man of such eminence, who, in support of their cause, had sacrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country. Pole was created a cardinal, and sent legate into Flanders. But he took no higher than deacon's orders, which did not condemn him to celibacy; and he was suspected of having aspired to the English crown, by means of a marriage with the princess Mary, during the life of her father. The marquis of Exeter, lord Montacute, the cardinal's brother, and several other persons of rank, suffered for this conspiracy, whether real or pretended. To hold a correspondence with that obnoxious fugitive was deemed sufficient guilt. It was enough, at least, to expose them to the indignation of Henry; and his will, on many occasions, is known to have usurped the place both of law and equity.

But whatever doubt may remain of Pole's intrigues for obtaining the crown of England, through an alliance with Mary, it is certain that she was no sooner seated upon the throne than she thought of making him the partner of her sway. The cardinal, however, being now in the decline of life, was represented to the queen as unqualified for the bustle of a court, and the fatigue of business. She therefore relinquished all thoughts of him as a husband; but, as she entertained a high esteem for his wisdom and virtue, she still proposed to reap the benefit of his counsels in the administration of the realm;—and hence arose her request to the pope.

This alliance, and one with the earl of Devonshire, being rejected for various reasons, the queen turned her eye toward the house of Austria, and there found a ready correspondence with her views. The ambitious Charles no sooner had heard of the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the scheme of obtaining the kingdom for his son Philip; hoping by that acquisition to balance the losses he had sustained in Germany: and Philip, although eleven years younger than Mary, who was destitute of every external beauty or grace, gave his consent without hesitation to the match proposed by his father. The emperor, therefore, immediately sent over an agent to signify his intentions to the queen of England; who, flattered with the prospect of marrying the presumptive heir of the greatest monarch in Europe, pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and happy to unite herself more closely to her mother's family, to which she had always been warmly attached, gladly embraced the proposal. The earls of Norfolk and Arundel, Lord Paget, and bishop Gardiner, then prime minister, finding how Mary's inclinations leaned, gave their opinion in favour of the Spanish alliance; but as they were sensible that the prospect of it diffused general apprehension and terror, for the liberty and independence of the kingdom, the articles of marriage were drawn up with all possible attention to the interest and security, and even to the grandeur of England. The emperor agreed to whatever was thought necessary to soothe the fears of the people or quiet the jealousies of the nobility. A. D. 1554. The chief articles were, that Philip, during his marriage with Mary, should bear the title of king, but that the administration should be vested solely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of holding any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, or privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that the male issue of the marriage should inherit, together with England, Burgundy and the Low Countries; that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by a former marriage, should die without issue, Mary's issue, whether male or female, should succeed to the crown of Spain, and all the emperor's hereditary dominions; and that Philip, if the queen should die before him without issue, should leave the crown of England to the lawful heir, without claiming any right of administration whatsoever¹⁷.

But this treaty, though framed with so much caution and skill, was far from reconciling the English nation to the Spanish alliance. It was properly observed, that the emperor, in order

¹⁷ Rymer, vol. xy.—Burnet, vol. ii.

to get possession of England, would agree to any terms ; and that the more favourable were the conditions which he had granted, the more certainly might it be concluded he had no serious intention of maintaining them. His general character was urged in support of these observations ; and it was added, that Philip, while he inherited his father's vices, fraud, and ambition, united to them more dangerous vices of his own, sullen pride and barbarity. England seemed already a province of Spain, groaning under the load of despotism, and subjected to all the horrors of the inquisition. The people were every where ripe for rebellion, and wanted only an able leader to have subverted the queen's authority. No such leader appeared. The more prudent part of the nobility thought it would be soon enough to correct ills when they began to be felt. Some turbulent spirits, however, judged it more safe to prevent than to redress grievances. They accordingly formed a conspiracy to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyatt proposed to raise Kent ; Sir Peter Carew, Devonshire ; and the duke of Suffolk was engaged, by the hope of recovering the crown for his daughter, to attempt raising the midland counties. But these conspirators, imprudently breaking concert, and rising at different times, were soon humbled. Wyatt and Suffolk lost their heads, as did lady Jane Grey and her husband, to whom the duke's guilt was imputed.

This fond and unfortunate couple died with much piety and fortitude. It had been intended to execute them on the Feb. 12. same scaffold on Tower hill ; but the council, dreading the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, and innocence, changed its orders, and gave directions that lady Jane should be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She refused to take leave of her husband on the day of their execution ; assigning as a reason, that the tenderness of parting might unbend their minds from that firmness which their approaching doom required of them. " Our separation," added she, " will be but for a moment ; we shall soon rejoin each other in a scene where our affections will be for ever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortune, can no longer disturb our felicity¹⁸." She saw lord Guildford led to execution, without discovering any sign of weakness. She even calmly met his headless body, as she was going to execution herself, and intrepidly desired to proceed to the fatal spot, emboldened by the report which she had received of the magnanimity of his behaviour. On that occasion she wrote in her table-book three sentences ; one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in English. The meaning of them was, that although human justice was against

her husband's body, divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth and inexperience ought to plead her excuse; and that God and posterity, she trusted, would show her favour. On the scaffold she behaved with great mildness and composure, and submitted herself to the stroke of the executioner with a steady and serene countenance¹⁹.

The queen's authority was considerably strengthened by the suppression of this rebellion; and the arrival of Philip in England gave still greater stability to her government. For although that prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him, being distant in his address, and so intrenched in form and ceremony as to be in a manner inaccessible, his liberality, if money disbursed for the purposes of corruption can deserve that name, procured him many friends among the nobility and gentry. Cardinal Pole also arrived in England about the same time, with legatine powers from the pope; and both houses of parliament voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that the nation had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the Romish religion; and praying their majesties, happily uninfected with that criminal schism! to intercede with the Holy Father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects. The request was readily granted. The legate, in the name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all ecclesiastical censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church²⁰.

In consequence of this reconciliation with the see of Rome, the punishment by fire, that dreadful expedient of superstition for extending her empire, and preserv- A. D. 1555.
ing her dominion, was rigorously employed against the most eminent reformers. The mild counsels of cardinal Pole, who was inclined to toleration, were overruled by Gardiner and Bonner, and many persons of all conditions, both sexes, and various ages were committed to the flames. The persecutors made their first attack upon Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's; a man equally distinguished by his piety and learning, but whose domestic situation, it was hoped, would bring him to compliance. He had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet did he continue firm in his principles; and such was his serenity after condemnation, that the jailors, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He suffered in Smithfield. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, was condemned at the same time with Rogers, but sent to his own dio-

¹⁹ *Id. ibid.*

²⁰ Burnet, vol. ii.—Fox, vol. iii.

cese to be punished, in order to strike the greater terror into his flock. The constancy of his death, however, had a very contrary effect. It was a scene of consolation to Hooper to die in their sight, bearing testimony to that doctrine which he had formerly taught among them. He continued to exhort them, till his tongue, swollen by the violence of his agony, denied him utterance : and his words were long remembered²¹.

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, also suffered this terrible punishment in his own diocese. And Ridley and Latimer, who had been bishops of London and Worcester, two prelates venerable by their years, their learning, and their piety, perished in the same fire at Oxford, supporting each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, my brother ! We shall this day kindle such a flame in England, as, I trust in God, will never be extinguished²²."

Sanders, a respectable clergyman, was committed to the flames at Coventry. A pardon was offered him if he would recant : but he rejected it with disdain, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome, cross of Christ ! welcome everlasting life !" Cranmer had less courage at first. Overawed by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, or overcome by the fond love of life, and by the flattery of artful men, who pompously represented the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation, he agreed, in an unguarded hour, to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy and the real presence. But Mary and her council, no less perfidious than cruel, determined that this recantation should not avail him : that he should acknowledge his errors in the church before the people, and afterward be led to execution.—He soon repented, however, of his weakness, and surprised the audience by a declaration very different from that which was expected from him. After explaining his sense of what he owed to God and his sovereign, "There is one miscarriage in my life," said he, "of which above all others, I severely repent —the insincere declaration of faith which I had the weakness to subscribe : but I take this opportunity of atoning for my error by a sincere and open recantation, and am willing to seal with my blood that doctrine which I firmly believe to have been communicated from Heaven."

As his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, he resolved that it should first be punished by a severe but just doom. He accordingly stretched out his arm, as soon as he came to the stake ; and without discovering, either by his looks or motions, the least sign of compunction, or even of feeling, he held his

²¹ Burnet vol. ii.—Fox, vol. iii.

²² Id. *ibid*.

right hand in the flames, till it was utterly consumed. His thoughts appeared to be totally occupied in reflecting on his former fault; and he called aloud several times, "This hand has offended!" When it dropped off, he discovered a serenity in his countenance, as if satisfied with sacrificing to divine justice the instrument of his crime; and when the fire attacked his body, his soul, wholly collected within itself, seemed fortified against every external accident, and altogether inaccessible to pain²³.

It would be endless, my dear Philip, to enumerate all the cruelties practised in England during this bigoted reign, near three hundred persons having been brought to the stake in the first rage of persecution. Besides, the savage barbarity on one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar, in all those martyrdoms, that a narration, very little agreeable in itself, would become altogether disgusting by its uniformity. It is sufficient to have mentioned the sufferings of our most eminent reformers, whose character and condition make such notice necessary. I shall therefore conclude this subject with observing, that human nature appears on no occasion so detestable, and at the same time so absurd, as in these religious horrors, which sink mankind below infernal spirits in wickedness, and beneath the brutes in folly. Bishop Bonner seemed to rejoice in the torments of the victims of persecution. He sometimes whipped the Protestant prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: he tore out the beard of a weaver who refused to relinquish his religion, and, in order to give the obstinate heretic a more sensible idea of burning, he held his finger to the candle, till the sinews and veins shrank and burst²⁴. All these examples prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, inflamed by theological hate.

But the members of the English parliament, though so obsequious to the queen's will in reuniting the kingdom to the see of Rome, and in authorising the murder of their fellow-subjects who rejected the Catholic faith, had still some regard left both to their own and the national interest. They refused to restore the possessions of the church; they would not declare her husband presumptive heir to the crown, or vest the administration in his hands; and she could not even procure their consent to his coronation.

The queen likewise met with long opposition from parliament in another favourite measure; namely, in an attempt to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and

²³ Fox, vol. iii.—Burnet, vol. ii.

²⁴ Fox, vol. iii.

Spain. The motion was suspended; and Philip, disgusted with Mary's importunate love, which was equal to that of a girl of eighteen, and with her jealousy and spleen, which increased with her declining years and her despair of having issue, had gone over to his father in Flanders. The voluntary resignation of the emperor, soon after this visit, put Philip in possession of the wealth of America, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe. He did not, however, lay aside his attention to the affairs of England, of which he still hoped to have the direction; and he came over to London, A. D. 1557. in order to support his parliamentary friends in a new motion for a French war. This measure was zealously opposed by several of the queen's most able counsellors, and particularly by cardinal Pole, who, having taken priest's orders, had been installed in the see of Canterbury on the death of Cranmer. But hostilities having commenced in France, as was pretended, war was at last denounced against that kingdom; and ten thousand men were sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke²⁵.

An attempt was made in Scotland by the French monarch to engage that kingdom in a war with England. Mary of Guise, the queen dowager, had obtained the regency through the intrigues of the court of France; and Henry II. now requested her to take part in the common quarrel. She accordingly summoned a convention of the states, and asked their concurrence for a war with England. But the Scottish nobles, who had become as jealous of the French as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their assent: and the regent had in vain recourse to stratagem, in order to accomplish her purpose.

The French monarch, however, without the assistance of his ancient allies, and notwithstanding the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, of which I shall afterward have occasion to speak, made himself master of Calais, which the English had possessed above two hundred years; and which, as it opened to them an easy and secure entry into the heart of France, was regarded as the most valuable foreign territory belonging to the crown. This important place was recovered by the vigilance and valour of the duke of Guise; who, informed that the English, trusting to the strength of the town, deemed in that age impregnable, were accustomed to recal, towards the close of summer, great part of the garrison, and replace it in the spring, undertook the enterprise in the depth of winter. As he knew that success A. D. 1558. depended upon celerity, he pushed his attacks with such vigor, that the governor was obliged to surrender on the eighth day of the siege²⁶.

The joy of the French on this occasion was extreme. Their vanity indulged itself in the utmost exultation of triumph, while the English gave vent to all the passions which agitate a high-spirited people, when any great national misfortune is evidently the consequence of the misconduct of their rulers. They murmured loudly against the queen and her council, who, after engaging the nation in a fruitless war, for the sake of foreign interest, had thus exposed it, by their negligence, to so severe a disgrace.

This event, with the consciousness of being hated by her subjects, and despised by her husband, so much affected the queen of England, whose health had long been declining, that she fell into a low fever, which put an end to her short and inglorious reign. "When I am dead," said she Nov. 17. to her attendants, "you will find Calais at my heart." Mary possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable. Her person was as little engaging as her manners; and amid that complication of vices which entered into her composition, namely, obstinacy, bigotry, violence, and cruelty, we scarcely find any virtue but sincerity.

Before the queen's death, negotiations had been opened for a general peace. Among other conditions, the king of France demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; the king of Spain, that of Calais and its territory to England. But the death of Mary somewhat altered the firmness of the Spanish monarch in regard to that capital article. And before I speak of the treaty which was afterwards signed at Chateau Cambresis, and which restored tranquillity to Europe, I must carry forward the affairs of the continent. In the mean while, it will be proper to say a few words of the princess Elizabeth, who now succeeded to the throne of England.

The majority of the English were under great apprehensions for the life of this princess, during her sister's whole reign. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and menaces had been employed to bring her to a recantation. The violent hatred which the queen entertained against her broke out on every occasion; and all her own distinguished prudence was necessary, in order to prevent the fatal effects of it. She retired into the country; and knowing that she was surrounded by spies, she passed her time chiefly in reading and study. She complied with the established mode of worship, and eluded all questions in regard to religion. When asked, on purpose to gather her opinion of the *real presence*, what she thought of these words of Christ, "This is my body,"—and whether she believed it the *true* body of Christ that was in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper,—she replied thus :

“ Christ was the word that spake it ;
 “ He took the bread and brake it ;
 “ And what the word did make it,
 “ That I believe and take it (27).”

After the death of her sister, Elizabeth delivered her sentiments more freely : and an early act of her administration was the re-establishment of the Protestant religion. The liturgy was again introduced in the English tongue, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of bishops had been reduced to fourteen, by a sickly season which preceded this change ; and all these (except the bishop of Landaff), having refused compliance, were deprived of their sees. But of the great body of the English clergy, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, sacrificed their livings for their theological opinions²⁸.

This change in religion completed the joy of the people on account of the accession of Elizabeth ; the auspicious commencement of whose reign may be said to have prognosticated that felicity and glory which uniformly attended it. These particulars my dear Philip, will make all retrospect in the affairs of England unnecessary, beyond the treaty of Chateau Cambresis.

27 Strype.—Camden.

28 Id. *ibid*.

LETTER LXV.

View of the Continent of Europe, from the Treaty of Passau, in 1552, to the Peace of Chateau Cambresis, in 1559.

THE negotiations at Passau were no sooner completed, than Maurice, the deliverer of Germany, marched into Hungary against the Turks, at the head of twenty thousand men, in consequence of his engagements with Ferdinand, whom the hopes of such assistance had rendered a zealous advocate of the confederates. But the vast superiority of the Turkish armies, together with the dissensions between Maurice and Castaldo, the Austrian general, who was piqued at being superseded in the command, prevented the elector from performing, on this occasion, any exploits worthy of his former fame, or of much benefit to the Romans.

In the mean time Charles V. deeply affected for the loss of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had formed the barrier of the empire on the side of France, and would now secure the frontier of Champagne, left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and put himself at the head of those forces which he had assembled against the confederates, for the recovery of the three bishoprics. To conceal the destination of his army, he circulated a report that he intended to lead it into Hungary, to second Maurice in his operations against the infidels; and as that pretext failed him, when he began to approach the Rhine, he pretended that he was marching first to chastise Albert of Brandenburg, who had refused to be included in the treaty of Passau, and whose cruel exactions in that part of Germany called loudly for redress.

The French, however, were not deceived by these artifices. Their sovereign immediately guessed the true object of the emperor's armament, and resolved to defend his conquests with vigour. The defence of Metz, against which it was foreseen the chief weight of the war would be turned, was committed to Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise, who possessed in an eminent degree all the qualities that render men great in military command. To courage, sagacity, fortitude, and presence of mind, he added that magnanimity which delights in bold enterprises, and aspires after fame by splendid and extraordinary actions. He repaired with joy to the dangerous station; and many of the French nobility, and even princes of the blood, eager to distinguish themselves under such a leader, entered Metz as volunteers. They were all necessary. The city was of great extent, ill fortified; and the suburbs were large. For these inconveniences the duke endeavoured to provide a remedy. He repaired the old fortifications with all possible expedition, labouring with his own hands: the officers imitated his example; and the soldiers, thus encouraged, cheerfully submitted to the most severe toils. He erected new works, and levelled the suburbs with the ground. At the same time he filled the magazines with provisions and military stores, compelled all useless persons to leave the place, and laid waste the neighbouring country; yet such were his popular talents, and his power of acquiring an ascendant over the minds of men, that the citizens not only refrained from murmuring, but seconded him with no less ardour than the soldiers, in all his operations—in the ruin of their estates, and in the havoc of their public and private buildings¹.

Meanwhile the emperor continued his march toward Lorraine, at the head of sixty thousand men. On his approach, Albert of Brandenburg, whose army did not exceed twenty thousand,

¹ Thuan. lib. xi.

withdrew into that duchy, as if he intended to join the French king; and Charles, though the winter was approaching, laid siege to Metz, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers.

The attention both of the besiegers and the besieged was turned for a time to the motions of Albert, who still hovered in the neighbourhood, undetermined which side to take, though resolved to sell his services. Charles at last came up to his price, and he joined the imperial army. The emperor now flattered himself that nothing could resist his force: but he found himself deceived. After a siege of almost sixty days, during which he had attempted all that was thought possible for art or valour to effect, and had lost about thirty thousand men by the inclemency of the weather, diseases, or the sword of the enemy, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise. "Fortune," said Charles, "I now perceive, like other fine ladies, chooses to confer her favours on young men, and forsake those who are in the decline of life²."

This saying has been thought gallant, and perhaps it is so; but the occasion merited more serious reflections. When the French sallied out to attack the enemy's rear, a spectacle presented itself to their view which extinguished at once all hostile rage, and melted them into compassion. The imperial camp was filled with the sick and wounded, with the dead and the dying. All the roads by which the army retired were strewed with the same miserable objects; who having made an effort beyond their strength to escape, and not being able to proceed, were left to perish without assistance. Happily, that, and all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform, they received from their enemies. The duke of Guise ordered that they should be supplied with every necessary. He appointed physicians to attend, and direct what treatment was proper for the sick and wounded, and what refreshments for the feeble; and such as recovered he sent home, under a safe escort, with money to bear their charges³. By these acts of humanity, less common in that age than in the present, the duke completed that heroic character which he had acquired by his brave and successful defence.

The emperor's misfortunes were not confined to Germany. During his residence at Villach he had been obliged to borrow two hundred thousand crowns from Cosmo of Medicis; and so low was his credit, that he was obliged to put that prince in pos-

² *Id. ibid.* ³ *Thuan. lib. iv.*—Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tome iv.—Father Daniel's account of this siege is copied from the *Journal* of the *Sieur de Salignac*, who was present at it.

session of the territory of Piombino, as a security for the repayment of the money. By this step he lost the footing he had hitherto maintained in Tuscany: and, nearly at the same time, he lost Sienna. The Siennese, who had long enjoyed a republican government, rose against the Spanish garrison, which they had admitted as a check upon the tyranny of the nobility, but which they now found was meant to enslave them. Forgetting their domestic animosities, they recalled the exiled nobles, demolished the citadel, and put themselves under the protection of France⁴.

These unfortunate events were followed by the most alarming dangers. The severe administration of the viceroy of Naples had filled that kingdom with dissatisfaction. The prince of Salerno, the head of the malcontents, fled to the court of France. The French monarch, after the example of his father, had formed an alliance with the grand signior; and Solyman, at that time highly incensed against the house of Austria, on account of the proceedings in Hungary, sent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, under the command of the Corsair Dragut, an officer trained up under Barbarossa. Dragut appeared on the coast of Calabria, where he expected to be joined by a French squadron; but not meeting with it according to concert, he returned to Constantinople, after plundering and burning several places, and filling Naples with consternation⁵.

While Charles, who had retired into the Low Countries, breathed vengeance against France, Germany was still disturbed by the restless ambition of Albert of A. D. 1553. Brandenburg; and, as that prince obstinately continued his violences, notwithstanding a decree of the imperial chamber, a league was formed against him by the most powerful princes of the empire, of which Maurice was declared the head. This confederacy, however, wrought no change in the sentiments of Albert. As he knew that he could not resist so many princes if they had leisure to unite their forces, he marched directly against Maurice whom he dreaded most, and hoped to crush before he could receive support from his allies; but he found that prince ready for conflict.

These hostile chiefs, whose armies were nearly equal in number, met at Siverhausen, in the duchy of Lunenburg. July 9. There an obstinate battle was fought, in which the combat long remained doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately; but at last victory declared for Maurice. Albert's army fled in confusion, leaving four thousand men dead on the field, and their baggage and artillery in the hands of the enemy. But the allies bought their victory at a dear rate.

Their best troops suffered greatly ; several persons of distinction fell ; and Maurice himself received a wound of which he died two days after, in the thirty-second year of his age. No prince, ancient or modern, ever perhaps discovered such deep political sagacity at so early a period of life. As he left only one daughter (afterwards married to the famous William, prince of Orange), John Frederic, the degraded elector, claimed the electoral dignity, and that part of his patrimonial estate of which he had been stripped during the Smalcaldic war ; but the states of Saxony, forgetting the merits and sufferings of their former master, declared in favour of Augustus, Maurice's brother. The unfortunate, but magnanimous John Frederic, died soon after this disappointment, which he bore with his usual firmness⁶ ; and the electoral dignity is still possessed by the descendants of Augustus.

The consternation which Maurice's death occasioned among his troops prevented them from making a proper use of their victory ; so that Albert, having re-assembled his broken forces, and made fresh levies, renewed his depredations with additional fury. But being defeated in a second battle by Henry Sept. 12. of Brunswick, who had taken the command of the allied army, he was driven from all his hereditary dominions, as well as from those which he had usurped ; was subjected to the ban of the empire, and obliged to take refuge in France, where he lingered out a few years in indigence⁷.

During these transactions in Germany, war was carried on in the Low Countries with considerable vigour. In the hope of effacing the stain which his military reputation had received before Metz, Charles laid siege to Terouenne ; and, the fortifications being out of repair, that important place was carried by assault. Hesden also was invested and taken in the same manner. The king of France was too late in assembling his forces, to afford relief to either of those towns ; and the emperor cautiously avoided an engagement during the remainder of the campaign.

The imperial arms were less successful in Italy. The viceroy of Naples failed in an attempt to recover Sienna ; and the French not only established themselves more firmly in Tuscany, but conquered part of the island of Corsica. Nor did the affairs of the house of Austria wear a better aspect in Hungary during the course of this year. Isabella and her son appeared once more in Transylvania, at a time when the people were ready for revolt, in order to revenge the death of Martinuzzi, whose loss they had severely felt. Some noblemen of eminence declared in favour of the young king ; and the pasha of Bel-

6 Arnoldi Vit. Maurit.—Robertson's Hist. Charles V. book x.

7 Id. ibid.

grade, by Solyman's order, espoused his cause, the Austrians were obliged to abandon Transylvania to Isabella and the Turks^s.

To counterbalance these and other losses, the emperor, as has been already related, concerted a marriage between his son Philip and Mary of England, in the A. D. 1554. hope of adding this kingdom to his other dominions. Meanwhile the war between Henry and Charles was carried on with various success in the Low Countries, and, in Italy, much to the disadvantage of France. The French, under the command of Strozzi, a Florentine nobleman, were defeated in the battle of Marciano; and Sienna being reduced after a siege of ten months, the brave inhabitants were again harassed by Spa- A. D. 1555. nish tyranny. Nearly at the same time a plot was formed by the Franciscans, but was discovered before it could be carried into execution, for betraying Metz to the Imperialists. The father guardian and twenty other monks received sentence of death on account of this conspiracy; but the guardian, before the time appointed for his execution, was murdered by his incensed accomplices, whom he had seduced from their allegiance, and six of the youngest were pardoned^o.

While war thus raged in Italy and the Low Countries, accompanied with all its train of miseries, and all the crimes to which ambition gives birth, Germany enjoyed such tranquillity as afforded the diet full leisure to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification agreed upon at Passau, and referred to the consideration of the next meeting of the Germanic body. For this purpose a diet had been summoned to meet at Augsburg, soon after the conclusion of the treaty; but the commotions excited by Albert of Brandenburg, and the attention which Ferdinand was obliged to pay to the affairs of Hungary, had hitherto obstructed its deliberations. The following stipulations were at last settled, and formally published: "Such princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the Confession of Augsburg shall be permitted to profess and exercise, without molestation, the doctrine and worship which it authorises: the popish ecclesiastics shall claim no spiritual jurisdiction in such cities or principalities, nor shall the Protestants molest the princes and states that adhere to the church of Rome: no attempt shall be made to terminate religious differences, except by the gentle and pacific methods of persuasion and conference: the supreme civil power in every state may establish what form of worship it shall deem proper, but shall permit those who refuse to conform to remove their effects: all who seized the

^s Thuan, lib. xv.

^o Id. ibid.

benefices or revenues of the church, before the treaty of Passau, shall retain possession of them, and be subject to no prosecution in the imperial chamber on that account; but if any prelate or ecclesiastic shall hereafter abandon the Romish religion, he shall instantly relinquish his diocese or benefice, and it shall be lawful for those in whom the right of nomination is vested to proceed immediately to an election, as in the case of death or translation¹⁰.”

These were the principal articles in the Recess of Augsburg, the basis of religious peace in Germany. The followers of Luther were highly pleased with the security which it afforded them, and the Catholics seem to have had no less reason to be satisfied. That article which preserved entire to the Romish church the benefices of such ecclesiastics as should hereafter renounce its doctrines, at once placed a barrier around its patrimony, and effectually guarded against the defection of its dignitaries. But cardinal Caraffa (who was now raised to the papal throne, under the name of Paul IV.), full of high ideas of his apostolic jurisdiction, and animated with the fiercest zeal against heresy, regarded the indulgence given to the Protestants, by an assembly composed of laymen, as an impious act of usurped power. He therefore threatened the emperor and the king of the Romans with the severest effects of his vengeance, if they did not immediately declare the Recess of Augsburg illegal and void; and as Charles showed no disposition to comply with this demand, the pope entered into an alliance with the French king, in order to ruin the imperial power in Italy.

That negotiation was depending, when an event occurred which astonished all Europe; and confounded the reasonings of the wisest politicians. Charles, though only in his fifty-sixth year, an age when objects of ambition operate with full force on the mind, and are generally pursued with the greatest ardour, had for some time formed the resolution of resigning his hereditary dominions to his son Philip. He now prepared to put it into execution. Various have been the opinions of historians respecting the motives of this extraordinary determination; but the most probable seem to be, the disappointments which Charles had met with in his ambitious hopes, and the daily decline of his health. He had early in life been attacked with the gout; and the fits had become so frequent and severe, that not only the vigour of his constitution was broken, but the faculties of his mind were sensibly impaired. He therefore judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in some solitude, than to expose them to the public eye: and as he was unwilling to forfeit the fame, or lose the acquisitions of his better years, by attempting

¹⁰ Father Paul, lib. v.—Pallavicini, lib. xiii.

to guide the reins of government when he was no longer able to hold them with steadiness, he prudently resolved to seek in the tranquillity of retirement that happiness which he had in vain pursued amid the tumults of war, and the intrigues of state.

Having already ceded to Philip the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, he assembled the states of the Netherlands, at Brussels : and seating himself for the last time in the chair of state, he explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation, and solemnly devolved his authority upon his son. He recounted with dignity, but without ostentation, all his great enterprises ; and that enumeration gives us the highest idea of his activity and industry. "I have dedicated," observed he, "from the seventeenth year of my age, all my thoughts and attention to public objects, reserving no portion of my time for the indulgence of ease, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleasure. Either in a pacific or hostile manner, I have visited Germany nine times ; Spain six times ; France four times ; Italy seven times ; the Low Countries ten times ; England twice ; Africa as often ; and while my health permitted me to discharge the duties of a sovereign, and the vigour of my constitution was not unequal to the arduous office of governing such extensive dominions, I never shunned labour or repined under fatigue ; but now, when my health is broken, and my vigour exhausted by the rage of an incurable distemper, my growing infirmities admonish me to retire : nor am I so fond of reigning as to retain the sceptre in an impotent hand, which is no longer able to protect my subjects."

"Instead of a sovereign worn out with diseases," continued he, "and scarcely half alive, I give you one in the prime of life, already accustomed to govern, and who adds to the vigor of youth all the attention and sagacity of maturer years." Then turning toward Philip, who fell on his knees and kissed his father's hand. "It is in your power," said Charles, "by a wise and virtuous administration, to justify the extraordinary proof which I give this day of my paternal affection, and to demonstrate that you are worthy of the confidence which I repose in you. Preserve," added he, "an inviolable regard for religion ; maintain the Catholic faith in its purity ; let the laws of your country be sacred in your eyes ; encroach not on the rights of your people ; and if the time should ever come, when you shall wish to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a son to whom you can resign your sceptre with as much satisfaction as I give mine to you !" A few weeks after, the emperor also resigned to Philip the Spanish crown, with all the dominions depending upon it, in the Old as well as in the New

World; reserving nothing to himself, out of all those vast possessions, but an annual pension of one hundred thousand ducats¹¹.

Charles was now impatient to embark for Spain, where he had fixed on a place of retreat. But, by the advice of his physicians, he deferred his voyage for some months, on account of the severity of the season : and, by yielding to their judgment, he had the satisfaction, before he left the Low Countries, of taking a considerable step towards a peace with France. Of this he was ardently desirous, not only on his son's account, whose administration he wished to commence in quietness, but that he might have the glory, when quitting the world, of restoring to Europe that tranquillity which his ambition had banished from it, almost during his whole reign.

The great obstacle to such a pacification on the part of France, was a treaty which had been concluded with the court of Rome; and the emperor's claims were too numerous to admit any hope of rapid adjustment. A truce of five years was therefore proposed by Charles, during which term, without discussing their respective pretensions, each should retain what was in his possession ; and Henry, through the persuasion of the constable Montmorency, who represented the imprudence of sacrificing the true interests of his kingdom to his rash engagements with the pope, authorised his ambassadors to sign at Vaucelles a treaty which would ensure to him, for so considerable a period, the important conquests which he had made on the German frontier, together with the greater part of the dominions of the duke of Savoy.

Paul IV., when informed of this transaction, was filled no less with terror and astonishment than with rage and indignation. But he took equal care to conceal his fear and his anger. He affected to be highly pleased with the truce : and he offered his mediation, as the common father of Christendom, for the adjustment of a permanent peace. Under this pretext, he despatched cardinal Rebiba, as his nuncio, to the court of Brussels; and his nephew, cardinal Caraffa, to that of Paris. The public instructions of both were the same ; but Caraffa, besides these, received a private commission, to spare no entreaties, promises, or bribes, in order to induce the French monarch to renounce the truce, and renew his engagements with the court of Rome. He flattered Henry with a hope of the conquest of Naples : he gained to his interest, by his address, the Guises, the queen, and even the famous Diana of Poitiers, duchess of Valentinois, the king's mistress : and they easily swayed the king himself, who had already leaned to that side toward which they wished

¹¹ Godlev. Relat. Abdicat. Car. V. —Thuan. lib. xvi. —Sandov. vol. ii. —Robertson, book ix

to incline him. All Montmorency's prudent remonstrances were disregarded. The nuncio, by powers from Rome, absolved Henry from his oath of truce; and that rash prince signed a new treaty with the pope, which re-kindled with fresh violence the flames of war, both in Italy and the Low Countries. A. D. 1556.

No sooner was Paul acquainted with the success of this negotiation, than he proceeded to the most indecent extremities against Philip II. He ordered the Spanish ambassador to be imprisoned: he excommunicated the Colonnas, because of their attachment to the imperial house; and he declared that Philip was guilty of high treason, and had forfeited his right to the kingdom of Naples, which he was supposed to hold of the Holy See, for afterward affording them a retreat in his dominions¹².

Alarmed at a quarrel with the pope, whom he had been taught to regard with the most superstitious veneration, as the vicegerent of Christ, and the common father of Christendom, Philip tried every gentle method before he made use of force. He even consulted some Spanish divines on the lawfulness of taking arms against a person so sacred. They decided in his favour; and Paul continuing inexorable, the duke of Alva, to whom the conduct of the negotiation as well as of the war had been committed, entered the ecclesiastical state at the head of ten thousand veterans, and carried terror to the gates of Rome.

The haughty pontiff, though still obstinate and undaunted himself, was forced to give way to the fears of the cardinals; and a truce was concluded for forty days. But, when the duke of Guise arrived with twenty thousand men, Paul became more arrogant than ever, and banished from his mind all thoughts except those of war and revenge. A. D. 1557. The duke, however, who is supposed to have given his voice for this war, chiefly from a desire of displaying his military talents, was able to perform nothing in Italy worthy of his former fame. He was obliged to abandon the siege of Civitella; he could not bring the duke of Alva to a general engagement; a multitude of his men perished by disease; and the pope neglected to furnish the necessary reinforcements. He requested to be recalled: and France stood in need of his abilities.

Philip, though willing to have avoided a rupture, was no sooner informed that Henry had violated the truce of Vaucelles, than he determined to act with such vigour as should convince all Europe that his father had not erred in resigning to him the reins of government. He immediately assembled in the Low Countries a body of fifteen thousand men: he obtained a supply of ten thousand from England, which he had engaged, as

we have seen, in this quarrel ; and not being ambitious of military fame, he gave the command of his army to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest generals of that warlike age.

The duke of Savoy kept the enemy for a time in utter ignorance of his destination. At length he seemed to threaten Champagne, toward which the French drew all their troops ; a motion which he no sooner perceived, than, turning suddenly to the right, he advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and laid siege to St. Quintin. It was deemed in that age a place of considerable strength ; but the fortifications had been neglected, and the garrison did not amount to a fifth part of the number requisite for its defence : it must therefore have surrendered in a few days, if the admiral de Coligni had not taken the gallant resolution of throwing himself into it with such a body of men as could be suddenly collected for that purpose. He effected his design in spite of the enemy, breaking through the main body with seven hundred horse, and two hundred foot. The town, however, was closely invested : and Montmorency, anxious to extricate his nephew out of that perilous situation in which his zeal for the public good had engaged him, as well as to save a place of great importance, rashly advanced to its relief with forces inferior by one half to those of the enemy. He was totally defeated, and made prisoner¹³.

The cautious temper of Philip, on this occasion, saved France from devastation, if not ruin. The duke of Savoy proposed to overlook all inferior objects, and march directly to Paris—of which, in its present consternation, he could not have failed to make himself master. But the Spanish monarch, afraid of the consequences of such a bold enterprise, desired him to continue the siege of St. Quintin, in order to secure a safe retreat, in case of any disastrous event. The town, long and gallantly defended by Coligni, was at last taken by storm ; but not before France was in a state of defence.

Philip was now sensible he had lost an opportunity that could never be recalled, of distressing his enemy, and contented himself with reducing Ham and Catelet, two petty towns, which, with St. Quintin, were the sole fruits of one of the most complete victories gained in the sixteenth century. The Catholic king, however, continued in high exultation, on account of his success ; and as all his passions were tinged with superstition, he vowed to build a church, a monastery, and a palace, in honour of St. Laurence, on the day sacred to whose memory the battle of St. Quintin had been fought. He accordingly laid the foundation of an edifice in which all those buildings were in-

cluded, and which he continued to forward, at a vast expense, for twenty two years. The same principle that dictated the vow directed the construction of the fabric. It was so formed as to resemble a gridiron !—on which culinary instrument, according to the legendary tale, St. Laurence had suffered martyrdom¹⁴. Such, my dear Philip, is the origin of the famous Escorial, near Madrid, the royal residence of the kings of Spain.

The earliest account of the great blow which France had received at St. Quintin was carried to Rome by the courier whom Henry had sent to recal the duke of Guise. Paul remonstrated warmly against the departure of the French army ; but Guise's orders were peremptory. The arrogant pontiff therefore found it necessary to accommodate his conduct to the exigency of his affairs, and to employ the mediation of the Venetians, and of Cosmo of Medicis, in order to obtain peace from Spain. The first overtures to this purpose were easily listened to by the Catholic king, who still doubted the justice of his cause, and considered it as his greatest misfortune to be obliged to contend with the pope. Paul agreed to renounce his league with France ; and Philip stipulated, on his part, that the duke of Alva should repair to Rome, and, after asking pardon of the holy father, in his own name, and in that of his master, for having invaded the patrimony of the church, should receive absolution for that crime !—Thus the pope, through the superstitious timidity of Philip, not only finished an unpropitious war without any detriment to the apostolic see, but saw his conqueror humbled at his feet: and so excessive was the veneration of the Spaniards in that age for the papal character, that the duke of Alva, the proudest man perhaps of his time, and accustomed from his infancy to converse with princes, acknowledged, that, when he approached Paul, he was so much overawed, that his voice failed, and his presence of mind forsook him¹⁵.

But although this war, which at its commencement threatened mighty revolutions, was terminated without occasioning any alteration in those states which were its immediate object, it produced effects of considerable consequence in other parts of Italy. In order to detach Octavio Farnese, duke of Parma, from the French interest, Philip restored to him the city of Placentia and its territory, which had been seized, as we have seen, by Charles V.; and he granted to Cosmo de Medicis the investiture of Sienna, as an equivalent for the sums due to him¹⁶. By these treaties the balance of power among the Italian states was poised more equally, and rendered less variable, than it had been since it received the first violent shock from the invasion of Charles

¹⁴ Colmenar. *Annal. d'Espagna*, vol. ii.

¹⁵ Pallav. *lib. xiii.*

¹⁶ Thuan. *lib. xviii.*

VIII. ; and Italy henceforth ceased to be the theatre on which the sovereigns of Spain, France, and Germany, contended for fame and dominion. Their hostilities, excited by new objects, stained other regions of Europe with blood, and made other states feel, in their turn, the calamities of war.

The duke of Guise, who left Rome the same day that his adversary the duke of Alva made his humiliating submission to the pope, was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. He was appointed commander-in-chief, with a jurisdiction almost unlimited; and, eager to justify the extraordinary confidence which the king had reposed in him, as well as to perform something suitable to the high expectations of his countrymen, he undertook the siege of Calais. Of the complete success of that enterprise, and its different effects upon the English and French nations, we have already had occasion to take notice. The duke next invested Thionville, in the duchy of Luxembourg, one of the strongest towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and forced it to capitulate after a siege of three weeks. But the advantages in this quarter were more than balanced by an event which happened in another part of the Low Countries. The mareschal de Termes, governor of Calais, who had penetrated into Flanders, and taken Dunkirk, was totally routed near Gravelines by count Egmont, and made prisoner¹⁷. This disaster obliged the duke of Guise to relinquish all his other schemes, and hasten to the frontier of Picardy, that he might there oppose the progress of the enemy.

The eyes of France were now anxiously turned toward the operations of a general on whose arms victory had always attended, and in whose conduct, as well as good fortune, his countrymen could confide in every danger. Guise's strength was nearly equal to that of the duke of Savoy, each commanding about forty thousand men. They encamped at the distance of a few leagues from each other ; and, the French and Spanish monarchs having joined their respective armies, it was expected that, after the vicissitudes of war, a signal victory would at last determine which of the rivals should take the ascendant for the future in the affairs of Europe. But both princes, as if by agreement, stood on the defensive; neither of them discovering any inclination ; though each had it in his power, to rest the decision of a point of such importance on the issue of a single battle.

During this state of inaction, peace began to be mentioned in each camp, and both Henry and Philip discovered an equal disposition to listen to any overture that tended to re-establish it. The private inclinations of both kings concurred with their po-

17 Thuan. lib. xx.

litical interests and the wishes of their people. Philip languished to return to Spain, the place of his nativity; and peace only could enable him, either with decency or safety, to quit the Low Countries. Henry was no less desirous of being freed from the avocations of war, that he might have leisure to turn the whole force of his government to the suppression of the opinions of the reformers, which were spreading with such rapidity in Paris and the other great towns, that the protestants began to grow formidable to the established church. Court intrigues conspired with these public and avowed motives to hasten the negotiation, and the abbey of Cercamp was fixed on as the place of congress¹⁸.

While Philip and Henry were making these advances toward a treaty which restored tranquillity to Europe, Charles V., whose ambition had so long disturbed it, but who had been for some time dead to all such pursuits, ended his days in the monastery of St. Justus, in Estremadura, which he had chosen as the place of his retreat. It was seated in a valley of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds, covered with lofty trees. In this solitude Charles lived on a plan that would have suited a private gentleman of moderate fortune. His table was plain, his domestics few, and his intercourse with them familiar. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands, sometimes rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one which he kept, attended by a single servant on foot: and when his infirmities deprived him of these more active recreations, he admitted a few gentlemen who resided near the monastery to visit him, and entertained them as equals; or he employed himself in studying the principles, and in framing curious works of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. But, however, he was engaged, or whatever might be the state of his health, he always devoted a considerable portion of his time to religious exercises.

In this manner, not unbecoming a man perfectly disengaged from the affairs of the world, did Charles pass his time in retirement. But, some months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with a proportional increase of violence, and enfeebled both his body and mind to such a degree as to leave no traces of that sound and masculine understanding which had distinguished him among his contemporaries. He sunk into a deep melancholy. An illiberal and timid superstition depressed his spirit. He lost all relish for amusements of every kind, and desired no other company than that of

¹⁸ Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. book xii.

monks. With them he chanted the hymns of the missal, and conformed to all the rigours of monastic life, tearing his body with a whip, as an expiation for his sins ! Not satisfied with these acts of mortification, and anxious to merit the favour of Heaven by some new instance of piety, he resolved to celebrate his own obsequies. His tomb was accordingly erected in the chapel of the monastery : his attendants walked thither in funeral procession. Charles followed them in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin, and the service of the dead was chanted over him; he himself joining in the prayers that were put up for the repose of his soul, and mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been solemnising a real funeral¹⁹.

The fatiguing length of this ceremony, or the awful sentiments which it inspired, threw Charles into a fever, of Sept. 21. which he died in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His enterprises speak his most eloquent panegyric, and his history forms his highest character. As no prince ever governed so extensive an empire, including his American dominions, no one seems ever to have been endowed with a superior capacity for sway. His abilities as a statesman, and even as a general, were of the first class; and he possessed in the most eminent degree the science which is of the greatest importance to a monarch, that of discerning the characters of men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments in which they are to be employed. But, unfortunately for the reputation of Charles, his insatiable ambition, which kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects, in perpetual inquietude, not only frustrated the chief end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care, but obliged him to have recourse to low artifices, unbecoming his exalted station, and led him into such deviations from integrity as were unworthy of a great prince. This insidious policy, in itself sufficiently detestable, was rendered still more odious by a comparison with the open and undesigning character of Francis I. ; and served, by way of contrast, to turn on the French monarch a degree of admiration to which neither his talents nor his virtues as a sovereign seem to have entitled him.

Before Charles left the Low Countries, he had made a second attempt to induce his brother to give up his title to the imperial throne to Philip, and to accept the investiture of some provinces, either in Italy or the Netherlands, as an equivalent. But finding Ferdinand inflexible on that point, he desisted finally from his scheme, and resigned to him the government of the empire. The electors made no hesitation in recognising the king of the Romans, whom they put in possession of all the ensigns of the imperial dignity, as soon as the deed of resignation was pre-

¹⁹ Zunig. Vida de Carlos.—Robertson, ubi sup.

sented to them ; but Paul IV., whose lofty ideas of the papal prerogative neither experience nor disappointments could moderate, refused to confirm the choice of the diet. He pretended that it belonged alone to the pope, from whom, as vicegerent of Christ, the imperial power was derived, to nominate a person to the vacant throne ; and this arrogance and obstinacy he maintained during his whole pontificate. Ferdinand I., however, did not enjoy the less authority as emperor.

Soon after the death of Charles, Mary of England ended her disgraceful reign ; and her sister Elizabeth, as we have already seen, succeeded to the throne, to the general joy of the nation, notwithstanding some supposed defects in her title. Henry and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation with equal solicitude : and, equally sensible of the importance of gaining her favour, both courted it with emulative zeal. Henry endeavoured, by the warmest expressions of regard and friendship, to detach her from the Spanish alliance, and to engage her to consent to a separate peace with him ; while Philip, unwilling to lose his connexion with England, not only vied with Henry in declarations of esteem for Elizabeth, and in professions of his resolution to cultivate the strictest amity with her, but, in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himself to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a dispensation from the pope for that purpose.

Elizabeth weighed the proposals of the two monarchs with that provident discernment of her true interest which was conspicuous in all her deliberations ; and, while she intended to yield to the solicitations of neither, she continued for a time to amuse both. By this happy artifice, as well as by the prudence with which she at first concealed her intentions concerning religion, the young queen so far gained upon Philip, that he warmly espoused her interest in the conferences at Cercamp, and afterwards at Chateau Cambresis, whither they A. D. 1559. were removed. The earnestness, however, with which he seconded the arguments of the English plenipotentiaries, began to relax in proportion as his prospect of espousing the queen became more distant ; and the vigorous measures that Elizabeth took, as soon as she found herself firmly seated on the throne, not only for overturning all that her sister had done in favour of popery, but for establishing the Protestant church on a sure foundation, convinced Philip that his hopes of an union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now desperate. Henceforth, decorum alone made him preserve the appearance of interposing in her favour. Elizabeth, who expected such an alteration in his conduct, quickly perceived it. But

as peace was necessary to her, instead of resenting this coolness, she became more moderate in her demands in order to preserve the feeble tie by which she was still united to him ; and Philip, that he might not seem to have abandoned the English queen, insisted that the treaty of peace between Henry and Elizabeth should be concluded in form before that between France and Spain²⁰.

The treaty between Henry and Elizabeth contained no article of importance, except that which respected Calais. It was stipulated that the king of France should retain possession of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years, at the expiration of which term he should restore it to England. But as the force of this stipulation was made to depend on Elizabeth's preserving inviolate, during the same number of years, the peace both with France and Scotland, all men of discernment saw, that it was but a decent pretext for abandoning Calais ; and, instead of blaming her, they applauded her wisdom, in palliating what she could not prevent.

The expedient which Montmorency employed, in order to facilitate the conclusion of peace between France and Spain, was the negotiation of two treaties of marriage; one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldest daughter, and Philip II.; and the other between Margaret, Henry's only sister, and the duke of Savoy. The principal articles of the treaty of peace were, that all conquests made by either party, on this side of the Alps, should be mutually restored : that the duchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont ; the county of Bresse, and all the other territories formerly subject to the dukes of Savoy, should be restored to Emanuel Philibert, immediately after the celebration of his marriage with Margaret of France (a few towns excepted which Henry should retain, till his claims on that prince were decided in a court of law ;) that the French king should immediately evacuate all the places which he held in the duchy of Tuscany and the territory of Sienna, and renounce all future pretensions to them : that he should receive the Genoese into favour, and give up to them the towns which he had conquered in the island of Corsica. But he was allowed to keep possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, because Philip was not very studious of the interests of his uncle Ferdinand. All past transactions, either of princes or subjects, it was agreed should be buried in oblivion²¹. Thus the great causes of discord that had so long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain seemed to be wholly removed, or finally annihilated, by this famous treaty, which fully restored peace to Europe ; almost every prince

²⁰ Strype's Annals, vol. i.—Forbes's Full View, vol. i. ²¹ Recueil des Traitez, tome ii.

and state in Christendom being comprehended in the treaty of Château Cambresis, as allies either of Henry or of Philip.

The French king did not long survive the pacification. He was mortally wounded on a tournament, while he was celebrating the marriage of his sister; and his son July 10. Francis II., a weak prince, succeeded to the crown. A few weeks after, Paul IV. ended his violent and imperious pontificate:—and thus, as a learned historian observes²², all the personages who had long sustained the principal characters on the great theatre of Europe disappeared nearly at the same time.

At this æra, my dear Philip, a more known period of history opens. Other actors appeared on the stage, with different views and passions; new contests arose; and new schemes of ambition occupied and disquieted mankind.—But, before we enter on that period, we must take a view of the affairs of Poland and the northern states.

²² Robertson, book xii.

LETTER LXVI.

Of the Affairs of Poland, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, from the latter part of the fourteenth to the Middle of the sixteenth Century.

THE union of neighbouring states, and the association of communities of similar origin and manners, have almost uniformly been productive of mutual benefit. This was the case with Poland and Lithuania, which were united in 1386 by the marriage of Hedwiga, and the grand duke Jagellon. This prince, who assumed the name of Ladislaus, endeavoured to render the union of the states as advantageous to both as circumstances would allow; but he was unable to effect a complete incorporation. The Teutonic knights, who were masters of Prussia, obstructed his views both in politics and religion. They laboured to separate the duchy from all connexion with Poland; and, though their order had been instituted for the propagation of Christianity, they did not scruple to counteract the efforts of the new king for enlightening with that faith the minds of the Lithuanians. They were defeated by the Polanders in several engagements; but Ladislaus, having lost a great

part of his army at the siege of Marienburg, gratified them with favourable terms of peace.

His son was that enterprising youth of whose fall in the battle of Varna you have already been informed¹. Casimir IV. was then presented with the crown, which he enjoyed for forty-eight years. He was successful in a war with the Teutonic knights, whom he compelled to cede Pomerania and other territories. In his reign the provincial deputies acquired a much greater share in legislative acts than the king and the senate had before allowed them².

In the mean time, the Russians were strenuously endeavouring to shake off the Tartarian yoke. Their grand duke Demetrius had defeated the barbarians in 1380; but he could not prevent them from reducing and burning Moscow, the new capital of the state. Timour afterward made his appearance in this

A. D. 1395. part of Russia, and threatened the people with subjugation; but he suddenly desisted from his ravages, and returned into Asia. Under the government of John (or Ivan) Basilowitz, the Tartars received some rude shocks from the vigour of the Russians; whose operations in the field were rendered more efficacious by the use of fire-arms and cannon, to which their adversaries were unaccustomed. Having subdued

A. D. 1477. several tribes, John attacked the khan of the golden or superior horde, to whom so many of his predecessors had been tributary, and freed himself from all subjection to that prince. He met with success in another object—the reduction of Novogorod and other principalities to a state of complete obedience. Though he had given his daughter in marriage to Alexander king of Poland, he invaded Lithuania, but was constrained by the arms of his son-in-law to retire with dis-

A. D. 1505. grace. He was succeeded by his son Basil, who was unfortunate in a war with Sigismund I. king of Poland. The latter prince, who was brave and politic, also baffled the attempts of the Russians, in the minority of Basil's son, John the Terrible, though they were reinforced by the Moldavians and Walachians.

The war between the Russians and Polanders being renewed in the reign of Sigismund II., John rushed into Lithuania, and marked his course with wanton inhumanity. His troops were frequently defeated; but, his army being uncommonly numerous, he persisted in hostilities, till the attacks of famine induced him to agree to a truce. The same prince not only calmed the

A. D. 1578. Tartars of Casan, but subdued those of Astracan; and, Siberia being accidentally discovered in his time, he added that extensive territory to his dominions. He es-

1 See Letter LII.

2 Marth. Michov. lib. iv.

tablished the Strelitzes, a military body resembling the Janissaries of Turkey. He published a new code of laws, and endeavoured to accelerate the progress of his people in arts and civilisation; but, like an inconsiderate barbarian, he was too violent in the execution of his schemes of reform, and even exercised the most atrocious cruelties upon the opposers of his views³.

This potentate was an admirer of our queen Elizabeth, and a great encourager of the commerce which had been opened between the English and his subjects, in consequence of the adventurous voyage of Richard Chancellor into the White Sea, where, at the mouth of the Dwina, he discovered the port of Archangel.

Passing from Russia to the Scandinavian territories, I must revert to the reign of Margaret, styled the Semiramis of the North. This ambitious princess, not satisfied with the temporary possessions of the three northern crowns, laboured to render their union perpetual. For this purpose, after taking preparatory measures, she convoked the states A. D. 1397. of the three realms at Calmar; where it was established as a fundamental law of the whole, that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, should thenceforth have but one and the same sovereign, who should be chosen successively by each of these kingdoms, and then approved by the other two; that each nation should retain its own laws, customs, privileges, and dignities; and that the natives of one kingdom should not be raised to posts of honour or profit in another, but should be reputed foreigners, except in their own country⁴.

Margaret survived this union about fifteen years, during which she governed with ability and spirit, but treated the Swedes with particular rigour. When they complained of her violation of their privileges, she insultingly answered, that they might guard their supposed rights with the same zeal with which she would maintain the fortresses of the realm.

Though the union of Calmar was apparently well calculated for the tranquillity as well as security of the north, it proved the source of much discontent, and of many barbarous wars. The national antipathy between the Swedes and Danes, now heightened by national jealousy, was with difficulty restrained by the vigorous administration of the queen, whose partiality to the natives of Denmark is said to have been too evident; and under her successor Eric, still more unjustly partial to the Danes, the Swedes openly revolted, choosing their grand-marshal, Charles Canutson, descended from the illustrious family of Bonde, which had formerly given kings to Sweden, first regent, and afterwards king. They returned, however, to their allegiance under Christian I. of Denmark. But they soon re

³ Tooke's Hist. of Russia, vol. i.

⁴ Meurs, lib. v

volted from this prince; renewed the union of Calmar, under John his successor; revolted a third time; and were finally subdued by the arms of Christian II., who reduced them to the condition of a conquered people⁵.

The circumstances of the last revolution are sufficiently remarkable to merit our attention; and the consequences by which it was followed require a statement of some particulars.

The Swedes, on revolting from Christian I., had conferred the administration of the kingdom on Steen Sture, whose son, of the same name, was regent in the sequel. The authority of young Sture was acknowledged by the body of the nation, but disputed by Gustavus Trolle, archbishop of Upsal, and primate of Sweden, whose father had been a competitor for the administration, and whom Christian II. had brought over to his interest. Besieged in his castle of Steckla, and obliged to surrender, notwithstanding the interposition of the Danish monarch, the archbishop was degraded by the diet, and deprived of all his benefices. In his distress he applied to Leo X., who excommunicated the regent and his adherents, committing the execution of the bull to the king of Denmark. In pursuance of this decree, the Nero of the north (as Christian II. is deservedly called) invaded Sweden in 1518, with a powerful army; but, being defeated in a great battle, he pretended to treat, and offered to repair to Stockholm, in order to confer with the regent, provided six hostages were sent. The proposal was accepted, and six of the first nobility (among whom was Gustavus Vasa, grand-nephew to king Canutson) were put on board the Danish fleet. These hostages Christian carried prisoners to Denmark. In the following year, a more formidable armament invaded West Gothland; where Sture, advancing to give battle, fell into an ambuscade, and received a mortal wound. The Swedish army, left without a head, first retreated, and afterwards dispersed. The senators had not chosen a new regent, when Christian reappeared in Sweden, and marched toward the capital, wasting every thing before him with fire and sword. Stockholm surrendered; and Gustavus Trolle, resuming his archiepiscopal function, crowned the invader king of Sweden⁶.

This coronation was followed by one of the most tragical scenes in the history of the human race. Christian, affecting clemency, went to the cathedral, and swore that he would govern Sweden, not with the severe hand of a conqueror, but with the mild and beneficent disposition of a prince raised to the throne by the universal voice of the people, after which he invited the senators and grandees to a sumptuous entertainment, that lasted for three days. Meanwhile a plot was formed for extirpating

⁵ Vertot, *Revolut. la Swede*.

⁶ Meurs.—Loccen.—Puffendorff.

the Swedish nobility. On the last day of the feast, to afford some pretext for the intended massacre, archbishop Trolle reminded the king, that though his majesty, by a general amnesty, had pardoned all past offences, no satisfaction had yet been given to the pope ; and he demanded justice in the name of his holiness. The hall was immediately filled with armed men, who secured the guests: the primate proceeded against them as heretics ; a scaffold was erected before the gate of the palace ; and ninety-four persons of distinction, among whom was Eric Vasa, father of the celebrated Gustavus, were publicly put to death for defending the liberties of their country. Other barbarities succeeded to these: the rage of the soldiery was let loose against the citizens ; and the most atrocious acts of murder were committed by order of the inhuman tyrant⁷.

But Sweden soon found a deliverer and an avenger. Gustavus Vasa had escaped from his confinement, and concealed himself, in the habit of a peasant, among the mountains of Dalecarlia. There, deserted by his sole companion and guide, who carried off his little treasure—bewildered, destitute of every necessary, and ready to perish of hunger—he entered himself among the miners, and worked under ground for bread, without relinquishing the hope of one day ascending the throne of Sweden. Again emerging to light, and distinguished among the Dalecarlians by his lofty mien, and by the strength and agility of his body, he had acquired a considerable degree of ascendancy over them, before they were acquainted with his rank. He made himself known to them at an annual feast, and exhorted them to assist him in recovering the liberties of their country. They listened to him with admiration: they were inflamed with rage against their oppressors ; but they did not resolve to join him, till some of the old men among them observed (so inconsiderable often are the causes of the greatest events!) that the wind had blown directly from the north, from the moment that Gustavus began to speak. This they considered as an infallible sign of the approbation of heaven, and an order to take up arms under the banners of the hero: they already saw the wreath of victory on his brow, and begged to be led against the enemy. Gustavus did not suffer their ardour to cool. He immediately attacked the governor of the province in his castle, took it by assault, and sacrificed the Danish garrison to the just vengeance of the Dalecarlians. Like animals that have tasted the blood of their prey, they were now furious, and fit for any desperate enterprise. Gustavus every where saw himself victorious, and gained partisans in all corners of the kingdom. Every thing

⁷ Vertot, *Revolut. de Suède*.

yielded to his valour and good fortune. His popularity daily increased ; and, in 1523, he was elected king of Sweden⁸.

The infamous Christian, having rendered himself obnoxious by his tyranny even to his Danish subjects, was degraded from their throne. The inhabitants of Jutland first renounced his authority. They deputed Munce, their chief justice, to signify to the tyrant the sentence of deposition. "My name," said Munce, glorying in the dangerous commission, "ought to be written over the gates of all wicked princes!" and it ought certainly to be transmitted to posterity as a warning both to kings and inferior magistrates, of the danger of abusing power. The whole kingdom of Denmark acquiesced in the decree : and Christian, hated even by his own officers, and not daring to trust any one, retired into the Low Countries, the hereditary dominions of his brother-in-law Charles V. whose assistance he had long implored in vain⁹.

Frederic duke of Holstein, Christian's uncle, was elected king of Denmark and Norway. He aspired also to the sovereignty of Sweden ; but, finding Gustavus firmly seated on the throne of that kingdom, he did not enforce his claim. He entered into an alliance with Gustavus and the Hanse-towns, against the deposed king, who, after several unsuccessful attempts to recover his crown, died in prison ; a fate too gentle for so barbarous a tyrant.

Frederic was succeeded in 1533, by his son, Christian III., one of the most prudent and prosperous princes of his age. He established the Protestant religion at the same time in Denmark and Norway, in imitation of the example of Gustavus, who had introduced it into Sweden. The doctrines of Luther had spread themselves over both kingdoms, and both princes saw the advantage of retrenching the exorbitant power of the clergy. Christian died in 1559, and Gustavus in 1560, leaving behind him the glorious character of a patriot king. He rescued Sweden from the Danish yoke by his valour ; he made commerce and arts flourish by his wise policy ; and the liberality of his bold and independent spirit, by elevating him above vulgar prejudices, enabled him to break the fetters of priestly tyranny, and enfranchise the minds as well as the bodies of his countrymen.

⁸ Loccen.—Vertot.

⁹ Vertot.

LETTER LXVII.

History of England, Scotland, and France, from the Peace of Chateau-Cambresis, in 1559, to the Death of Francis II., and the Return of Mary Queen of Scots to her native Kingdom.

THE treaty of Chateau-Cambresis, my dear Philip, though it settled the claims of the contending powers, A. D. 1559. did not secure permanent tranquillity to Europe. The Protestant opinions had already made considerable progress both in France and the Low Countries; and Philip and Henry were equally determined on the extirpation of heresy throughout their dominions. The horrors of the inquisition, long familiar to Spain, were not only increased in that kingdom, but extended to Italy and the Netherlands; and although the premature death of Henry suspended for a while the rage of persecution in France, other causes of discontent occurred in that kingdom, and each party made use of religion to light the flames of civil war¹.

A new source of discord also arose between France and England. The princes of Lorrain, the intriguing family of Guise, whose credit had long been great at the French court, and who negotiated the marriage between the dauphin, now Francis II. and their niece the queen of Scots, extended still farther their ambitious views. No less able than aspiring, they had governed both the king and kingdom, since the accession of the young and feeble Francis. But they had many enemies, Catharine of Medicis, the queen-mother, a woman who scrupled at no violence or perfidy to accomplish her ends; the two princes of the blood, Anthony de Bourbon king of Navarre, and his brother Louis prince of Conde, besides the constable Montmorency and his powerful family; were alike desirous of the administration, and envious of the power of the Guises².

In order to acquire this power, the duke of Guise and his five brothers (the cardinal of Lorrain, the duke of Aumale, the cardinal of Guise, the marquis of Elbœuf, and the Grand Prior) had not only employed great military and political talents, but to all the arts of insinuation and address had added those of intrigue and dissimulation. In negotiating the marriage between their niece and the dauphin, these artful princes, while they prevailed on the French court to grant the Scottish nation every security for the independence of that crown, engaged the young

¹ Thuan.—Cabrera.—Davila.

² Davila, lib. i.—Mezeray, tome v.

queen to subscribe privately three deeds, by which, in failure of the heirs of her own body, she conferred the kingdom of Scotland, with whatever inheritance or *succession* might accrue to it, in free gift upon the crown of France; declaring any deed which her subjects had, or might extort from her to the contrary, to be void, and of no obligation³.

By the succession mentioned in these deeds, the crown of England seems to have been meant; for no sooner were the Guises informed of the death of queen Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth (whose birth, in the opinion of every good Catholic, excluded her from any legal right to the throne), than they formed a project worthy of their ambition. In order to exalt their credit, and secure their power, they attempted to acquire also for France the southern British kingdom. For this purpose they solicited at Rome, and obtained a bull, declaring Elizabeth's birth illegitimate; and as the Scottish queen was the next heir by blood, they had persuaded Henry II. to permit his son and daughter-in-law to assume the title and arms of England⁴.

Elizabeth complained of this insult, but could obtain only an evasive answer. No obvious measure, however, was taken, during the reign of Henry, in support of the claim of the queen of Scots; but no sooner were the princes of Lorraine in full possession of the administration under his son Francis, than more vigorous and less guarded counsels were adopted. Sensible that Scotland was the quarter whence they could attack England to most advantage, they gave, as a preparatory step, orders to their sister the regent, and encouraged her by promises of men and money, to take effectual measures for humbling the Scottish malcontents, and suppressing the Protestant opinions in that kingdom; hoping that the English Catholics, formidable at that time by their zeal and numbers, and exasperated against Elizabeth, on account of the change which she had made in the national religion, would rise in support of the succession of the queen of Scots, when animated by the prospect of protection, and throw themselves into the arms of France, as the only power that could secure to them their ancient worship, and the privileges of the Romish church⁵.

Elizabeth, aware of her danger, resolved to provide against it; and the situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her an opportunity, both of revenging the insult offered to her crown, and of defeating the ambitious views of France.

The Reformation was advancing with quick steps in Scotland. All the low country was deeply tinged with the Protestant

³ Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. tome v.—Robertson's Hist. Scot. book ii.

⁴ Robertson's Hist. Scot.—Anderson's Diplomat. Scot. No. 68, and 164.

⁵ Forbes, vol. i.—Thuan. lib. xxiv.

opinions; and as the converts to the new religion had been guilty of no violation of public peace since the murder of cardinal Beaton, whose death was partly occasioned by private revenge, the regent, willing to secure their favour, that she might be enabled to maintain that authority which she had found such difficulty in acquiring, connived at the progress of doctrines which she had not power to suppress. Too cautious, however, to trust to this precarious indulgence for the safety of their religious principles, the heads of the Protestant party in Scotland entered privately into a bond of association for their mutual protection and the propagation of their tenets, styling themselves the *Congregation of the Lord*, in contradistinction to the established church, which they denominated the *Congregation of Satan*⁶.

Such associations are generally the forerunners of rebellion; and it appears that the heads of the Congregation in Scotland carried their views farther than a mere toleration of the new doctrines. So far they were to blame, as enemies to civil authority; but the violent measures pursued against their sect, before this league was known or avowed, sufficiently justified the association itself, as the result of a prudent foresight, and a necessary step to secure the free exercise of their religion. Alarmed at the progress of the Reformation, the popish clergy had attempted to recover their sinking authority by enforcing the tyrannical laws against heresy; and Hamilton the primate, formerly distinguished by his moderation, had sentenced to the flames an aged priest convicted of embracing the Protestant opinions⁷.

This was the last barbarity of the kind that the Catholics had the power to exercise in Scotland. The severity of the archbishop rather roused than intimidated the reformers. The Congregation now openly solicited subscriptions to the league; and not satisfied with new and more solemn promises of the regent's protection, they presented a petition to her, craving a reformation of the church, and of the wicked, scandalous, and detestable lives of the clergy. They also framed a petition, which they intended to present to parliament, soliciting some legal protection against the exorbitant and oppressive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. They likewise petitioned the convocation; and insisted that prayers should be said in the vulgar tongue, that bishops should be chosen by the gentry of the diocese, and priests with the consent of the parishioners.

Instead of soothing the Protestants by any prudent concessions, the convocation rejected their demands with disdain; and the regent, who had hitherto wisely temporised between the par-

ties, and whose humanity and sagacity taught her moderation, having received during the sitting of the assembly the violent commands of her brothers, prepared to carry their despotic plan into execution, contrary to her own judgment and experience. She publicly expressed her approbation of the decrees, by which the principles of the reformers were condemned in the convocation, and cited the most eminent Protestant teachers to appear before the council at Stirling⁸.

The members of the Congregation, alarmed but not over-awed by this danger, assembled in great numbers, according to the custom of Scotland at that time, to attend their pastors to the place of trial⁹, to protect and countenance them: and the regent, dreading the approach of so formidable a body, empowered Erskine of Dun, a person of high authority with the reformers, to assure them that she would put a stop to the intended proceedings, if they would advance no farther. They listened with pleasure, and perhaps with too great credulity to so pacific a proposition; for men whose grievances obliged them to fly in the face of the civil power, under whatever plausible pretext their purpose may be concealed, should trust to nothing less than the solemnity of a contract. The regent broke her promise, conformably to her maxim, that “the promises of princes ought not to be too carefully remembered, nor the performance of them exacted, unless it suits their own conveniency.” She proceeded to call to trial the persons formerly summoned; and on their not appearing, though purposely prevented, they were pronounced outlaws¹⁰.

By this ignoble artifice she forfeited the esteem and confidence of the whole nation. The Protestants boldly prepared for their own defence; and Erskine, enraged at being made the instrument of deceiving his party, instantly repaired to Perth, whither the leaders of the Congregation had retired, and inflamed the zeal of his associates by his representations of the regent’s inflexible resolution to suppress their religion. His ardour was powerfully seconded by the rhetoric of John Knox, a preacher who possessed a bold and popular eloquence. Having been carried prisoner into France, together with other persons taken in the castle of St. Andrews, soon after the murder of Beatoun, Knox made his escape out of that kingdom; and, after residing sometimes in England, sometimes in Scotland, had found it necessary, in order to avoid the vengeance of the popish clergy, to

8 Melvil.—Jebb.—Castelnau. 9 In consequence of this custom, originally introduced by vassalage and clanship, and afterwards tolerated through the feebleness of government, any person of eminence accused of a crime was accompanied to the place of trial by a body of his friends and adherents. Robertson, book ii. 10 Knox. p. 127.—Robertson, book ii.

retire to Geneva. There he imbibed all the enthusiasm, and heightened the natural ferocity of his own character by the severe doctrines of Calvin, the apostle of that republic.

Invited home by the heads of the Protestant party in Scotland, Knox had arrived in his native country a few days before the trial appointed at Stirling, and immediately joined his brethren, that he might share with them in the common danger, as well as in the glory of promoting the common cause. In the present ferment of men's minds, occasioned by the regent's deceitful conduct, and the sense of their own danger, he mounted the pulpit, and declaimed with such vehemence against the idolatry and other abuses of the church of Rome, that his auditors were strongly incited to attempt its utter subversion. During those movements of holy indignation, the indiscreet bigotry of a priest, who immediately after that violent invective was preparing to celebrate mass, and had opened his repository of images and reliques, hurried the enthusiastic populace into immediate action. They fell with fury upon the devout Catholic, broke the images, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, and scattered about the sacred vases. They then proceeded to the monasteries, against which their zeal more particularly pointed its thunder. Not content with expelling the monks, and defacing every instrument of idolatrous worship, as they termed it, they vented their rage upon the buildings which had been the receptacles of such abomination; and, in a few hours, those superb edifices were level with the ground¹¹.

Provoked at these violences, and others of a like kind, the regent assembled an army, composed chiefly of French troops; and being assisted by such of the nobility as still adhered to her cause, she resolved to inflict the severest vengeance on the whole Protestant party. Intelligence of her preparations, as well as of the spirit by which she was actuated, soon reached Perth; and the heads of the Congregation, who had given no countenance to the late insurrection in that city, would gladly have soothed her by the most dutiful and submissive addresses; but finding her inexorable, they prepared for resistance, and their adherents flocked to them in such numbers, that within a few days they were in a condition not only to defend the town, but to take the field with superior forces. Neither party, however, discovered much inclination to hazard a battle; and, through the mediation of the earl of Argyle, and of James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the young queen's natural brother, who, although closely connected with the reformers, had not yet openly deserted the regent, a treaty was concluded with the Congregation.

¹¹ Spotswood, p. 121.—Knox, p. 127, 128.—Robertson, book ii

In this treaty it was stipulated, among other provisions, that indemnity should be granted to all persons concerned in the late insurrection, and that the parliament should immediately be convoked, in order to compose religious differences. Both these stipulations the regent violated—by neglecting to call the parliament, by fining some of the inhabitants of Perth, banishing others, removing the magistrates from office, and leaving a garrison in the town, with orders to allow the exercise of no other religion than the Roman catholic¹². The Protestants renewed the league, and again had recourse to arms; despoiling the churches of their sacred furniture, and laying the monasteries in ruins. New conventions were framed, but were soon infringed; and new ravages were committed on the monuments of ecclesiastical pride and luxury.

The Congregation had been joined not only by the earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, but also by the duke of Chatelherault (earl of Arran), the presumptive heir of the crown, and had taken possession of the capital. They now aimed at the redress of civil as well as religious grievances; requiring, as a preliminary toward settling the kingdom and securing its liberties, the immediate expulsion of the French forces from Scotland. The regent, sensible of the necessity of giving way to a torrent which she could not resist, amused them for a time with fair promises and pretended negotiations; but, being reinforced with a thousand foreign soldiers, and encouraged by the court of France to expect soon the arrival of an army so powerful that the zeal of her adversaries, however desperate, would not dare to encounter it, she listened to the rash councils of her brothers, and at last gave the Congregation a positive denial. She was not answerable to the confederate lords, she said, for any part of her conduct; nor should she, upon any representation from them, abandon measures which she deemed necessary, or dismiss forces that she found useful; ordering them at the same time, on pain of her displeasure, and as they valued their allegiance, to disband the troops which they had assembled.

This haughty reply to their earnest and continued solicitations determined the leaders of the Congregation to take a step worthy of a brave and free people. They assembled Oct. 21. the whole body of peers, barons, and representatives of boroughs that adhered to their party; and the members of this bold convention (which equalled in number, and exceeded in dignity, the usual meetings of parliament), after examining the most delicate and important question that can fall under the consideration of subjects—"the obedience due to an unjust and

¹² Buchanan, lib. xvi.—Robertson, book ii.

oppressive administration," gave their suffrages, without one dissenting voice, for depriving Mary of Guise of the office of regent, which she had exercised so much to the detriment of the kingdom¹³.

The queen-dowager had already retired into Leith, the port of Edinburgh, which she had fortified and garrisoned with French troops. That town was immediately invested by the forces of the Congregation; but the confederate lords soon found that their zeal had engaged them in an undertaking which exceeded their ability to accomplish. The French garrison, despising the tumultuary efforts of raw and undisciplined troops, refused to surrender the place; and the Protestant leaders were neither sufficiently skilful in the art of war, nor possessed of the artillery or magazines necessary for the purpose of a siege. Nor was this their only misfortune: their followers, accustomed to decide every quarrel by immediate action, were strangers to the fatigues of a long campaign, and soon became impatient of the severe and constant duty which a siege requires. They first murmured, then mutinied: the garrison took advantage of their discontent; and, making a bold sally, cut many of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to abandon the enterprise.

Soon after this victory the queen-dowager received from France a reinforcement of a thousand veteran foot, and some troops of horse. These, with a detachment from the garrison of Leith, were sent out to scour the country, and to pillage and lay waste the houses and lands of the Protestants. Already broken and dispirited, and hearing that the marquis of Elbeuf was daily expected with a great army, the leaders of the Congregation began to consider their cause as desperate, unless the Lord, whose holy name they had assumed, should miraculously interpose in their behalf. But whatever confidence they might place in divine aid, they did not neglect human means.

The Scottish Protestants, in this pressing extremity, thought themselves excusable in requesting foreign aid. They turned their eyes toward England, which had already supplied them with money, and resolved to implore the assistance of Elizabeth to enable them to finish an undertaking in which they had so unfortunately experienced their own weakness; and as the sympathy of religion, as well as regard to civil liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animosity against that sister kingdom, this measure was the result of inclination no less than of interest or necessity. Maitland of Lethington, formerly the regent's principal secretary, and Robert Melvil, already acquainted with the intrigues of courts, were therefore secretly despatch-

¹³ Buchanan, lib. xvi.—Robertson, book ii.—Knox, p. 134.

ed, as the most able negotiators of the party, to solicit succours from the queen of England.

The wise counsellors of Elizabeth did not long hesitate in agreeing to a request which corresponded so perfectly with the views and interests of their mistress. Secretary Cecil, in particular, represented to the English queen the necessity, as well as equity, of interposing in the affairs of Scotland, and of preventing the conquest of that kingdom, at which France openly aimed. Every society, he observed, had a right to defend itself, not only from present dangers, but from such as might probably occur; and the invasion of England would immediately follow the reduction of the Scottish malcontents, by abandoning whom to the mercy of France, Elizabeth would open a way for her enemies into the heart of her own kingdom, and expose it to all the calamities of war, and the risque of conquest. Nothing therefore remained, he added, but to meet the enemy while yet at a distance; and, by supporting the leaders of the Congregation with an English army, to render Scotland the scene of hostilities; to crush the designs of the princes of Lorrain in their infancy; and, by such an early and unexpected effort, finally to expel the French from Britain, before their power had time to rise to a formidable height¹⁴.

Elizabeth, throughout her reign, was cautious but decisive; and by her promptitude in executing her resolutions, joined to the deliberation with which she formed them, her administration became as remarkable for its vigour as for its wisdom. No sooner did she determine to afford assistance to the leaders of the Congregation, a measure to which the reasoning of Cecil effectually swayed her, than they experienced the activity, as well as extent of her power. The season of the year would not permit her troops to take the field; but, lest the French army should, in the mean time, receive an accession of strength, she instantly ordered a squadron to cruise in the A. D. 1560. Frith of Forth; and early in the spring she sent six thousand foot and two thousand horse into Scotland, under the command of lord Grey of Wilton.

The leaders of the Congregation assembled from all parts of the kingdom to meet their new allies; and having joined them with vast numbers of their followers, the combined army advanced toward Leith. The place was immediately invested; and although the fleet that carried the reinforcement under the marquis of Elbœuf had been scattered by a violent storm, and was either wrecked on the coast of France, or with difficulty

¹⁴ Keith, Append. No. XVII.—Forbes, vol. i.—Jebb's Collections relative to Mary, Queen of Scotland, vol. i.

recovered the ports of that kingdom, the garrison, by an obstinate defence, protracted the siege to a great length¹⁵.

Amidst these commotions, the queen-dowager died; and many of the Catholic nobles, jealous of the French power, and more zealous for the liberty and independence of their country than for their religion, subscribed the alliance with England. Nothing, therefore, could now save the garrison of Leith but the immediate conclusion of a treaty, or the arrival of a powerful army from France; and the situation of that kingdom constrained the princes of Lorraine to turn their thoughts, though with reluctance, toward pacific measures.

The Protestants in France had become formidable by their numbers, and still more by the valour and enterprising genius of their leaders. Among these, the most eminent were the prince of Condé, the king of Navarre (no less distinguished by his abilities than his rank), the admiral de Coligny, and his brother Andelot, who no longer scrupled to make open profession of the reformed opinions, and whose high reputation both for valour and conduct gave great credit to the cause. Animated with zeal, and inflamed with resentment against the Guises, who had persuaded Francis II. to imitate the rigour of his father, by reviving the penal statutes against heresy, the Protestants (or Huguenots, as they were styled by way of reproach) not only prepared for their own defence, but resolved, by some bold action, to anticipate the execution of those schemes which threatened the extirpation of their religion, and the ruin of those who professed it. Hence arose the conspiracy of Amboise, for seizing the person of the king, and wresting the government out of the hands of the Guises; and although the vigilance and good fortune of the princes of Lorraine discovered and dis-
March 15.
appointed that design, the spirit of the Protestant party was rather roused than broken by the tortures inflicted on the conspirators¹⁶. The admiral de Coligny had even the boldness to present to the king, in a grand council at Fontainebleau, a petition from the Huguenots, demanding the public exercise of their religion, unless they were allowed to assemble privately with impunity. He was treated as an incendiary by the cardinal of Lorraine; but his request was warmly recommended by Monluc bishop of Valence, and by Marillac archbishop of Vienne, who spoke forcibly against the abuses which had occasioned so many troubles and disorders, as well as against the ignorance and vices of the French clergy. An assembly of the states was convoked, in order to appease the public discontents; the edicts against heretics were, in the mean time, suspended, and an appearance of toleration succeeded to the rage of persecution; but

15 Mem. de Castelman.

16 Davila, lib. i. ii.—Mezeray, tome v.

as the sentiments of the court were well known, it was easy to observe new storms gathering in every province of the kingdom, and ready to break forth with all the violence of civil war¹⁷.

This distracted state of affairs called off the ambition of the princes of Lorrain from the view of foreign conquests, in order to defend the honour and dignity of the French crown; and rendered it necessary to withdraw the few veteran troops already employed in Scotland, instead of sending new reinforcements into that kingdom. Plenipotentiaries were therefore sent to July 6. Edinburgh, where a treaty was signed with the ambassadors of Elizabeth. In this treaty it was stipulated that the French forces should instantly evacuate Scotland, and that Francis and Mary should thenceforth abstain from assuming the title of king and queen of England, or bearing the arms of that kingdom. Nor were the concessions granted to the Congregation less important; namely, that an amnesty should be published for all past offences; that none but natives should be put into any office in Scotland; that no foreign troops should hereafter be introduced into the kingdom without the consent of parliament; that the parliament should name twenty-four persons, of whom the queen should choose seven, and the parliament five; and to these twelve, so elected, the whole administration should be committed during Mary's absence; that she should neither make peace nor war without the consent of the national council; and that this body at its first meeting should take into consideration the religious differences, and represent its sense of them to the king and queen¹⁸.

A few days after the conclusion of this treaty, both the French and English armies quitted Scotland; and the leaders of the Congregation being now absolute masters of the kingdom, made no further scruple or ceremony in completing the work of reformation. The parliament, which was usually an assembly of the nobles, or great barons, and dignified clergy, met on the day named; and on this occasion the burgesses and inferior barons, who had also a right to be present in that assembly, but who seldom exercised it, stood forth to vindicate their civil and religious liberties, eager to aid with their voice in the senate that cause which they had defended with their sword in the field. The protestant members, who greatly out-numbered their adversaries, after ratifying the principal articles of the late treaty, and giving their sanction to a confession of faith presented to them by their teachers, prohibited the exercise of religious worship according to the rites of the Romish church, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods, as the punishment of the first act of disobedience; banishment, as the punishment of the second; and

17 Davila, lib. ii.—Mezeray, tome v.

18 Keith.—Spotswood.—Knox.

death, as the reward of the third¹⁹. With such indecent haste did the very persons who had just escaped the rigour of ecclesiastical tyranny proceed to imitate those examples of severity of which they had so justly complained! A law was also enacted for abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Scotland: and the Presbyterian form of worship was established, nearly as now constituted in that kingdom.

Francis and Mary refused to ratify these proceedings; which, by the treaty of Edinburgh, ought to have been presented for approbation, in the form of deliberations, not of acts. But the Scottish Protestants gave themselves little trouble about their sovereign's refusal. They immediately put the statutes in execution: they abolished the mass; they settled their ministers; and they committed furious devastations on the sacred buildings, which they considered as dangerous reliques of idolatry, laying waste every thing venerable and magnificent that had escaped the storm of popular insurrection. Abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the sepulchres of the dead, perished in one common ruin²⁰.

United by the consciousness of such unpardonable stretches of authority, and well acquainted with the imperious character of the princes of Lorraine, the Protestant members of the Scottish parliament, seeing no safety for themselves but in the protection of England, despatched ambassadors to Elizabeth, to express their sincere gratitude for her past favours, and represent to her the necessity of continuing them. That princess had equal reason to desire an union with these northern reformers. Though the disorders in France had obliged the princes of Lorraine to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief cause of the success of the English arms, they were determined not to relinquish their authority, or yield to the violence of their enemies. Nor had they yet renounced their design of subverting Elizabeth's throne. Francis and Mary, whose counsels were still wholly directed by them, obstinately refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and persisted in assuming the title and arms of England. Thus endangered, Elizabeth not only promised support to the Protestant party in Scotland, but secretly encouraged the French malcontents²¹: and it was with pleasure that she heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the court of France, and of the formidable oppositions to the measures of the duke of Guise.

But that opposition must soon have been crushed by the vigorous and decisive administration of the princes of Lorraine, if an unexpected event had not set bounds to their power. They had

¹⁹ Keith.—Knox.

²⁰ Robertson, book iii.—Hume, chap. xxxviii.

²¹ Id. *ibid*.

already found an opportunity of seizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé ; they had thrown the former into prison ; they had obtained a sentence of death against the latter ; and they were proceeding to put it into execution, when the sudden

Dec. 5. death of Francis arrested the impending blow, and brought down the duke of Guise to the level of a subject. Catharine of Medicis, the queen-mother, was appointed guardian to Charles IX. (who was only in his eleventh year at his accession), and invested with the administration of the realm, though not with the title of regent. In consequence of her maxim, "divide and govern!" the king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the sentence against Condé was annulled ; Montmorency was recalled to court ; and the princes of Lorraine, though they still enjoyed high offices and great power, found a counterpoise to the weight of their influence²².

The death of Francis, without issue by the queen of Scots, and the change which it produced in the French counsels, at once freed the queen of England from the perils attending the union of Scotland with France, and the Scottish Protestants from the terror of the French power. The joy of the Congregation was extreme. They ascribed those events to the immediate interposition of Providence in favour of his chosen people; and Elizabeth, without looking so high for their causes, determined to take advantage of their effects, in order more firmly to establish her throne. She still regarded the queen of Scots as a dangerous rival, on account of the number of English Catholics, who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, and would now adhere to her with more zealous attachment, when they saw that her succession no longer endangered the liberties of the kingdom. She therefore gave orders to her ambassador at the court of France to renew his application to the queen of Scots, and to require her immediate ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh²³.

Mary, slighted by the queen-mother, who imputed to that princess all the mortifications which she had received during the life of Francis ; forsaken by the swarm of courtiers, who appear only in the sunshine of prosperity ; and overwhelmed with all the sorrow which so sad a reverse of fortune could occasion ; had retired to Rheims ; and there in solitude had indulged her grief, or concealed her indignation. But notwithstanding her disconsolate condition, and though she had desisted after her husband's death from bearing the arms or assuming the title of England, she still eluded the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, and refused to make a solemn renunciation of her pretensions to the English crown.

²² Mem. de Castelnau.—Davila, lib. ii.

²³ Keith.—Castelnau.

The states of Scotland now sent a deputation, inviting her to return into her native kingdom, and assume the reins of government. But, though very sensible that she was no longer queen of France, she was in no haste to leave a country where she had been educated from her infancy, and where so many attentions had been paid to her person as well as to her rank. Accustomed to the elegance, gallantry, and gaiety of a splendid court, and to the conversation of a polished people, by whom she had been loved and admired, she still fondly lingered in the scene of all these enjoyments, and contemplated with horror the barbarism of her own country, and the turbulence of her native subjects, who had so violently spurned all civil and religious authority. By the advice of her uncles, however, she determined at last to set out for Scotland; and as the course, in sailing from France to that kingdom, lies along the English coast, she demanded of Elizabeth, by the French ambassador d'Oisel, a safe-conduct during her voyage. That request, which decency alone might have obliged one sovereign to grant to another, Elizabeth rejected in such a manner as gave rise to no slight suspicion of a wish to obstruct the passage or intercept the person of the queen of Scots²⁴.

This ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth filled Mary with indignation, but did not retard her departure from France. Having cleared the room of her attendants, she said to Throgmorton, the English ambassador, "How weak I may prove, or how far a woman's frailty may transport me, I cannot tell; however, I am resolved not to have so many witnesses of my infirmity as your mistress had at her audience of my ambassador d'Oisel. Nothing disturbs me so much, as having asked with so much importunity a favour which it was of no consequence for me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my own country, without her leave, as I came to France in spite of all the opposition of her brother, king Edward: neither do I want friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me hither; though I was desirous rather to make an experiment of your mistress's friendship, than of the assistance of any other person²⁵." She embarked at Calais, and passing the English fleet under cover of a thick fog, arrived Aug. 19. safely at Leith, attended by three of her uncles of the house of Lorrain, the marquis of Danville, and other French courtiers²⁶.

The circumstances of Mary's departure from France are truly affecting. The excess of her grief seems to have proceeded from

²⁴ Keith.—Camden.—Robertson, Append. No. VI. p. 177. ²⁵ Cabala, p. 374.—Spotswood.

²⁶ Robertson, book iii.

a fatal presage of that scene of misfortune on which she was about to enter. Not satisfied with mingling tears with her mournful attendants, and bidding them adieu with a sorrowful heart, she kept her eyes fixed upon the French coast, after she was at sea, and did not turn them from that favourite object till darkness fell and intercepted it from her view. Even then she would neither retire to the cabin, nor take food; but commanding a couch to be placed on the deck, she there waited with fond impatience the return of day. Fortune soothed her on this occasion. The weather proving calm, the vessel made little progress during the night, so that Mary, in the morning, had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat up on her couch, and, still anxiously looking toward the land, often repeated with a sigh, "Farewel, France! farewel, beloved country, which I shall never more behold²⁷!"

The reception of Mary in her native realm, the civil wars of France, and the share which Elizabeth took in the affairs of both kingdoms, must furnish the subject of another letter.

27 Brantome.—He was in the same galley with the queen.

LETTER LXVIII.

History of France, England, and Scotland, from the Return of Mary Stuart to her native Kingdom in 1561, till her Imprisonment, and the Elevation of her Son to the Throne; with a retrospective View of the Affairs of Spain.

THE first appearance of affairs in Scotland was more favourable than Mary had reason to expect. She was received by her subjects with the loudest acclamations of joy, and with every demonstration of regard. Being now in her nineteenth year, the bloom of youth, and the beauty and gracefulness of her person, drew universal admiration, while her elegant manners and enlightened understanding commanded general respect. To the accomplishments of her own sex, she added many of the acquisitions of ours. She was skilled in various languages, ancient as well as modern. The progress she had made in poetry, music, rhetoric, and all the arts and sciences then esteemed useful or ornamental, was far beyond what is commonly attained by the sons and daughters of royalty, who are born and educated as the immediate heirs of a crown; and a courteous affability, which, without lessening the dignity of a sovereign, steals on

the hearts of subjects with a bewitching insinuation, rendered her other qualities more engaging¹.

The first measures of Mary's administration confirmed the prepossessions entertained in her favour. According to the advice of d'Oisel and her uncles, she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the Protestant party², who were alone able, she found, to support her government. The prior of St. Andrews, whom she soon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and, under him, Maitland of Lethington, a man of great sagacity, had a principal share of her confidence. Her choice could not have fallen upon persons more agreeable to her people.

But there was one circumstance which blasted all these promising appearances, and deprived Mary of that general favour which her amiable manners and prudent measures gave her just reason to expect. She was still a papist; and although she published, soon after her arrival, a proclamation, commanding every one to submit to the reformed religion, as established by parliament³, the more zealous Protestants could neither be reconciled to a person polluted by such an abomination, nor relinquish their jealousies of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty that she obtained permission to celebrate mass in her own chapel. "Shall that idol again be suffered to be erected within the realm?" was the common cry; and the usual prayers in the churches were, that God would turn the queen's heart, which was obstinate against his truth; or, if his holy will were otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts and *hands* of the elect, stoutly to oppose the rage of all tyrants. And lord Lindsay and the gentlemen of Fife even exclaimed, "*The Idolater shall die the death!*"

The ringleader in all these insults on majesty was John Knox, who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious usage of his sovereign. His usual appellation for the queen was JEZEBEL; and though she endeavoured by the most gracious condescension to win his favour, her kind advances could not soften his obdurate heart. The pulpits became mere stages for railing against the vices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feasting, finery, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendant⁴.

Curbed in all amusements, by the absurd severity of these reformers, Mary, whose age, rank, and education, invited her to liberty and cheerfulness, found reason every moment to look

¹ Robertson, book iii. from Brantome.

³ Knox.—Spotswood.—Keith.

² *Id.* *ibid.*

⁴ Knox, p. 332, 333.

back with a sigh to that country which she had left. After the departure of the French courtiers, her life was one scene of bitterness and sorrow. And she perceived that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity, while surrounded by a turbulent nobility, a bigoted people, and insolent ecclesiastics, was to preserve a friendly correspondence with Elizabeth, who, by former connexions and services, had acquired great authority over all ranks of men in Scotland. She therefore sent Maitland of Lethington to London, in order to pay her compliments to the English queen, and express a desire of future good understanding between them. Maitland was also instructed to signify her willingness to renounce all present right to the crown of England, provided she should be declared, by act of parliament, next heir to the succession, in case of the queen's decease without offspring. But so great was the jealous prudence of Elizabeth, that she never would hazard the weakening of her authority by naming a successor, or allow the parliament to interpose in that matter; much less would she make, or permit such a nomination to be made, in favour of a rival queen, who possessed pretensions so plausible to supplant her, and who, though she might verbally renounce them, could easily resume her claim on the first opportunity. Sensible, however, that reason would be thought to lie wholly on Mary's side, as she herself had frequently declared her resolution to live and die a *virgin queen*, she thenceforth ceased to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; and, though farther concessions were never made by either princess, they put on the appearance of a cordial reconciliation and friendship.

Elizabeth saw that, without her interposition, Mary was sufficiently depressed by the mutinous spirit of her own subjects. Having therefore no apprehensions from Scotland, nor any desire to take part at present in its affairs, she directed her attention to other objects. After concerting the necessary measures for the security of her kingdom and the happiness of her people, she turned an eye of observation toward the great powers of the continent. France, being still agitated by religious factions, big with all the horrors of civil war, excited less the jealousy than the compassion of its neighbours: so that Spain, of all the European kingdoms, could alone be considered as the formidable rival of England. Accordingly, an animosity, first political, then personal, soon appeared between the sovereigns of the two realms.

Philip II., immediately after he had concluded the peace of Chateau-Cambresis, commenced a furious persecution against the Protestants in Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries. That violent spirit of bigotry and tyranny by which he was actuated

gave new edge even to the usual cruelty of priests and inquisitors. He threw into prison Constantine Ponce, who had been confessor to Charles V., and in whose arms that great prince had breathed his last. This venerable ecclesiastic died in confinement; but Philip ordered, nevertheless, the sentence of heresy to be pronounced against his memory. He even deliberated whether he should not exercise the like severity against the memory of his father, who was suspected, during his latter years, of indulging a propensity towards Lutheranism. In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he spared neither age, sex, nor condition. He appeared with an inflexible countenance at the most barbarous executions; and he issued rigorous orders for the prosecution of heretics, even in his American dominions⁵. The limits of the globe seemed only enlarged to extend human misery.

Having founded his deliberate tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, Philip made it evident to all his subjects, that there were no means of escaping the severity of his vengeance, except abject compliance or obstinate resistance. And by thus placing himself at the head of the Catholic party, as the determined champion of the Romish church, he every where converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partisans of Spanish greatness.

Happily, the adherents of the new doctrines were not without a supporter, nor the Spanish greatness without a counterpoise. The course of events had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite to that of Philip. Fortune, guiding choice, and concurring with policy and inclination, had raised her to be the glory and the bulwark of the numerous but generally persecuted Protestants throughout Europe. And she united her interests, in all foreign negotiations, with those who were struggling for their civil and religious liberties, or guarding themselves against ruin and extermination. Hence originated the animosity between her and Philip.

While the queen of Scots continued in France, and asserted her claim to the southern British kingdom, the dread of uniting England to the French monarchy engaged the king of Spain to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. But no sooner did the death of young Francis put an end to Philip's apprehensions with regard to Mary's succession, than his rancour began openly to appear, and the interests of Spain and England were found opposite in every negotiation and public transaction. Philip, contrary to the received maxims of policy in that age, saw an advantage in supporting the power of the French mon-

⁵ Thuan. lib. xxiii.—Grotii Annal. lib. ii.

arch; and Elizabeth on the other hand, was induced by views of policy to protect a faction ready to subvert it.

Catharine of Medicis, by her maxim of dividing in order to govern, only increased the troubles of the state. By balancing the Catholics against the Protestants, the duke of Guise against the prince of Condé, she endeavoured to render herself necessary to both, and to establish her own dominion on their constrained obedience. But an equal counterpoise of power, which among foreign nations is the source of tranquillity, proves always the cause of quarrel among domestic factions: and if the animosities of religion concur with the frequent occasions of mutual injury, it is impossible long to preserve concord in such a situation. Moved by zeal for the ancient faith, Montmorency joined himself to the duke of Guise; the king of Navarre, from an inconstant temper, and his jealousy of the superior genius of his brother, embraced the same party; and the queen-mother, finding herself depressed by this combination, had recourse to Condé and the Huguenots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themselves by her countenance and protection⁶.

An edict had been published in the beginning of the year, granting to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion without the walls of towns; provided they should teach nothing contrary to the canons of the council of Nice, to the Apostles' Creed, or the books of the Old and New Testament. This edict had been preceded by a conference at Poissy between the divines of the two religions; in which the cardinal of Lorraine, on the part of the Catholics, and the learned Theodore Beza, on that of the Protestants, displayed, beyond others, their eloquence and powers of argument. The Protestant divines boasted of having greatly the advantage in the dispute, and the concession of liberty of conscience made their followers happy in that opinion. But the interested violence of the duke of Guise, or the intemperate zeal of his attendants, broke once more the tranquillity of religion, and gave a beginning to a frightful civil war. Passing by the little town of Vassy, on the frontiers of Champagne, where some Protestants having assembled in a barn, under the sanction of the edict, were peaceably worshipping God in their own way, his retinue wantonly insulted them. A tumult ensued: the duke himself was struck, it is said, with a stone: and sixty of the unarmed multitude were sacrificed in revenge of that pretended or provoked injury, and in open violation of the public faith⁷.

The Protestants, over all the kingdom, were alarmed at this massacre, and assembled in arms under Condé, Coligny, and

Andelot, their most distinguished leaders ; while the duke of Guise and Montmorency, having gained possession of the king's person, obliged the queen-mother to join the Catholic party. Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France. All the provinces of the realm, each city, each family, were distracted with intestine rage and animosity. The father was divided against the son, brother against brother; and women themselves, sacrificing their humanity, as well as their timidity, to the religious furor, distinguished themselves by acts of valour and cruelty⁸. Wherever the Protestants prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, the monasteries consumed with fire; and where success attended the Catholics, they burned the Bibles, re-baptised the infants, and forced married persons to pass anew through the ceremony⁹. Plunder, desolation, and bloodshed, attended equally the triumph of both parties : and, to use the words of a celebrated historian, it was during that period, when men began to be somewhat enlightened, and in this nation, renowned for polished manners, that the theological rage which had long been boiling in men's veins, seems to have attained its last state of virulence and acrimony¹⁰.

Philip, jealous of the progress of the Huguenots (who had made themselves masters of Orleans, Bourges, Lyons, Poitiers, Tours, Angers, Angoulême, Rouen, Dieppe, Havre de Grace, and many places of less note,) and afraid that the contagion might spread into the Low Countries, had formed a secret alliance with the princes of Lorraine, for the protection of the ancient faith, and the suppression of heresy. In consequence of that alliance, he now sent six thousand men to reinforce the Catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himself unable to oppose so strong a confederacy, countenanced by royal authority, was obliged to crave the assistance of the queen of England. As an inducement, he offered to put her in possession of Havre de Grace, on condition that, together with three thousand men for the garrison of the place, she should send over an equal number to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and furnish him with a supply of one hundred thousand crowns¹¹.

Elizabeth, besides the general and essential interest of supporting the Protestants, and opposing the rapid progress of her enemy the duke of Guise, had other motives to induce her to accept this proposal. She was now sensible, that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article, in the treaty of Château Cambresis, which regarded the restitution of Calais ; and wisely concluded that, could she get possession of Havre de Grace,

⁸ Davila, lib. iii.—Haynes, p. 391. ⁹ Davila. ¹⁰ Hume, chap. xxix. ¹¹ Forbes, vol. ii.

which commands the mouth of the Seine, she might easily constrain the French to execute their engagements, and have the honour of restoring Calais to England. She therefore sent over immediately three thousand men, under the command of sir Edward Poynings, and three thousand more soon after, under the earl of Warwick, who took possession of Havre. But Rouen having been invested by the Catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and Montmorency, before the arrival of the English, it was with difficulty that Poynings could throw a small reinforcement into the place ; and though the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege, the Catholics still continued the attack with vigour. The town was at last carried by assault, and the garrison put to the sword¹².

It was expected that the Catholics, flushed with success, would immediately form the siege of Havre, which was not yet in a firm state of defence ; but the intestine disorders of the kingdom diverted their attention to another enterprise. Andelot, seconded by the negotiations of Elizabeth, had levied a considerable army in Germany ; and arriving at Orleans, the seat of the Protestant power in France, he enabled the prince of Condé and Coligny to take the field, and oppose the progress of their enemies. After threatening Paris for some time, they took their march toward Normandy, with a view of engaging the English to join them. The Catholics hung on their rear, and, overtaking them near Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The victory was disputed with great obstinacy, and the action was distinguished by a very unusual event. Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the opposite armies, both remained prisoners in the hands of their enemies: and, what was yet more remarkable, the prince not only supped at the same table, but lay all night in the same bed with his hostile rival the duke of Guise!¹³ So unaccountable were the manners of that age, which could blend the most rancorous animosity with a familiar hospitality that appears altogether disgusting in these days of superior refinement.

The semblance of victory remained with the Catholics. But Coligny, whose lot it was ever to be defeated, and ever to rise more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the Protestant army, and, inspiring his own unconquerable courage into every breast, not only kept them in a body, but took some considerable places in Normandy ; and Elizabeth, in order to enable him to support the cause of his party, sent over a new supply of a hundred thousand crowns. Meanwhile the duke of Guise, aiming a mortal blow at the power of the Huguenots, had commenced the siege of Orléans, of which Andelot was governor, and where Montmorency was detain-

A. D. 1563.

¹² Davila, lib. iii.

¹³ Davila, lib. iii.

ed prisoner : and he had the prospect of speedy success in his undertaking, when he was assassinated by a young gentleman, named Poltrot, whose fanatical zeal for the interests of the Protestant religion instigated him to that atrocious violence¹⁴.

The death of this great man was an irreparable loss to the Catholic party. The cardinal of Lorrain, though eloquent, subtle, and intriguing, did not possess that enterprising and undaunted spirit which had rendered the ambition of the duke so formidable ; and therefore, though he still pursued the bold schemes of his family, the danger of their progress appeared not now so alarming either to Elizabeth or the French Protestants. Of course, the union between these allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, was in some measure loosened : and the leaders of the Huguenots were persuaded to listen to terms of a separate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency, equally tired of captivity, held conferences for that purpose, and soon came to an agreement with respect to the conditions. A toleration of their religion, under certain restrictions, was again granted to the Protestants ; a general amnesty was published, and every one was reinstated in his offices, dignities, and all civil rights and privileges¹⁵.

The leaders of the Protestants only comprehended Elizabeth so far in this treaty, as to obtain a promise, that, on her relinquishing Havre de Grace, her charges and the money which she had advanced should be repaid by the king of France ; and that Calais, on the expiration of the stipulated term, should be restored to her. Disdaining to accept these conditions, she ordered the earl of Warwick to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy. The garrison of Havre consisted of six thousand men, besides seven hundred pioneers : and a resolute defence was expected. But a contagious distemper began to harass the English troops ; and being increased by their fatigue and bad diet, it quickly made such ravages, that there did not remain fifteen hundred men in a condition to do duty. The earl, who had frequently warned the English ministry of his danger, and loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, was therefore obliged to capitulate, and content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison¹⁶.

Elizabeth, whose usual vigour and foresight had failed her in this transaction, now found it necessary to ac-
cede to a compromise ; and as Catharine wished for
leisure, that she might concert measures for the extirpation of
the Huguenots, she readily hearkened to any reasonable terms
of accommodation with England. It was accordingly agreed.

A. D. 1564.

that the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais should be delivered up for two hundred and twenty thousand crowns; and that both parties should retain all their pretensions¹⁷.

Peace still subsisted between England and Scotland; and even a cordial friendship seemed to have taken place between Elizabeth and Mary. They made professions of the most sincere affection: they wrote complimentary letters every week to each other, and had adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as the style of sisters. But the negotiation for the marriage of the queen of Scots awakened anew the jealousy of Elizabeth, and roused the zeal of the Scottish reformers. Mary's hand was solicited by the archduke Charles, the emperor's third son; by Don Carlos, heir apparent to the Spanish monarchy; and by the duke of Anjou, her former husband's brother, who afterwards acquired the crown of France. Either of those foreign alliances would have been alarming to Elizabeth, and to Mary's Protestant subjects. She therefore resolved, notwithstanding the arguments of the cardinal of Lorrain, to sacrifice her ambition to domestic peace; and as Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, eldest son of the earl of Lenox, was the first British subject whom sound policy seemed to point out to her choice, she determined to make him the partner of her sway¹⁸.

Darnley was Mary's cousin-german by lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He was, after herself, next heir to the English crown. He was also, by his father, a branch of her own family; and would, in espousing her, preserve the royal dignity in the house of Stuart. He had been born and educated in England; and as Elizabeth had often intimated to the queen of Scots, that nothing would so completely allay all jealousy between them as Mary's espousing an English nobleman¹⁹, the prospect of the ready approbation of that rival queen was an additional motive for the proposed marriage.

But although Mary, as a queen, seemed to be solely influenced by political considerations in the choice of a royal consort, she had some motives, as a woman, for singling out Darnley as a husband. He was in the full bloom and vigour of youth, tall and well-proportioned, and surpassed all the men of his time in every exterior grace. He eminently excelled in all the arts which display a handsome person to advantage, and which, by polished nations, are dignified with the name of elegant accomplishments. Mary was at an age and of a complexion to feel the force of such attractions. Lord Darnley accordingly made a conquest of her heart at their first interview; and it cannot be

doubted that she made a deep impression upon him. Thus inclination conspired with policy to promote their union; nor was it suspected that any opposition would be made by the English queen.

Secretly, Elizabeth was not displeased with Mary's choice, as it freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance, and from the necessity of parting with the earl of Leicester, her own handsome favourite, whom she had proposed as a husband to the queen of Scots. But beside a womanish jealousy and envy, proceeding from a consciousness of Mary's superior charms, which led her on all occasions to thwart the matrimonial views of that princess, certain ungenerous political motives induced her to show a disapprobation of the projected marriage with Darnley, though she either did not wish, or was sensible that she could not obstruct it. By declaring her dissatisfaction with Mary's conduct, she hoped to alarm those Scots who were attached to the English interest, and to raise by their means intestine commotions, which would not only secure her own kingdom from all disturbance on that side, but would enable her to become the umpire between the Scottish queen and her contending subjects.

The scheme immediately succeeded in part, and afterward had its full effect. The earl of Murray, and other Protestant noblemen, were the dupes of Elizabeth's A. D. 1565. intrigues. Under pretence of zeal for the reformed religion, because the earl of Lenox and his family were supposed to be Catholics, but in reality to support their own sinking authority, they formed among themselves bonds of confederacy and mutual defence. They entered into a secret correspondence with the English resident, to secure Elizabeth's assistance when it should become necessary; and, despairing of being able to prevent the marriage of the queen of Scots by any other means, they concerted measures for seizing Darnley, and carrying him prisoner into England. They failed, however, in the attempt; and Mary, with the general consent of the Scottish nation, celebrated her marriage with Darnley.

Conscious that all hopes of reconciliation were now at an end, the associated lords assembled their followers and fled to arms; but by the vigour and activity of Mary, who appeared herself at the head of her troops, rode with loaded pistols, and endured, with admirable fortitude, all the fatigues of war, the rebels were obliged to fly into England. There they met with a reception very different from what they expected, and which strongly marks the character of Elizabeth. That politic princess had already effectually served her purpose, by exciting in Scotland, through their means, such discord and jealousies as would in all

probability long distract and weaken Mary's government. It was now her business to save appearances; and as the malcontents had failed of success, she thought proper to disavow all connexions with them. She would not even grant an audience to the earl of Murray and the abbot of Kilwinning, appointed by the other fugitives to wait on her, before they had meanly consented to acknowledge, in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, who accused her of fomenting the troubles in Scotland by her intrigues, that she had given them no encouragement to take up arms. "You have spoken the truth!" replied she, as soon as they had made this declaration:—"I am far from setting an example of rebellion to my own subjects, by countenancing those who rebel against their lawful sovereign. The treason of which you have been guilty is detestable; and, as traitors, I banish you from my presence²⁰." So little feeling had she for men who, out of confidence in her promises, had hazarded their lives and fortunes to serve her!

The Scottish exiles, finding themselves so harshly treated by Elizabeth, had recourse to the clemency of their own sovereign; and Mary, whose temper naturally inclined her to lenity, seemed determined to restore them to favour, when the arrival of an ambassador from France altered her resolution. The peace granted to the reformers in that kingdom was intended only to lull them asleep, and prepare the way for their final and absolute destruction. For this purpose an interview had been appointed at Bayonne, between Charles IX. now in his sixteenth year, and his sister the queen of Spain. Catharine of Medicis accompanied her son; the duke of Alva attended his mistress. Gaiety, festivity, love, and joy seemed to be the sole occupation of both courts; but, under these smiling appearances, was devised a scheme the most bloody and the most destructive to the repose of mankind that had ever been suggested by superstition to the human heart. Nothing less was concerted than the extermination of the Protestants in France and the Low Countries, and the extinction of the reformed opinions throughout Europe²¹.

A. D. 1566. Of this Catholic or *Holy League* (for so that detestable conspiracy was called) an account was brought by the French ambassador, to the queen of Scots; and she was entreated, in the name of the king of France, not to restore the leaders of the Protestants in her kingdom to power and favour, at a time when the popish princes of the continent were combined for the total extirpation of that sect²². Deeply tainted with all the prejudices of popery, and devoted with the most humble submission to her uncles the princes of Lorraine, whose counsels from her infancy she had been accustomed to re-

20 Melvil

21 Thuan. lib. xxxvii.—Davila, lib. iii.

22 Melvil.

ceive with filial respect, Mary instantly joined the confederacy—hence she was induced to change her resolution with regard to the banished lords²³.

The effects of this new system were soon visible in her conduct. The parliament was summoned for the attainder of the rebels, whose guilt was palpable, and some measures were concerted for re-establishing the Romish religion in Scotland²⁴; so that the ruin of Murray and his party seemed now inevitable, and the destruction of the reformed church no distant event, when an unexpected incident saved both, and brought on, in the sequel, the ruin of Mary herself.

The incident to which I allude is the murder of David Rizzio, a man whose birth and education afforded little reason to suppose that he would ever attract the historian's notice, but whose tragical death, and its consequences, render it necessary to record his adventures. The son of a teacher of music at Turin, and himself a musician, Rizzio had accompanied the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland, where he gained admittance into the queen's family by his skill in his profession; and as Mary found him necessary to complete her musical band, she retained him in her service, by permission, after the departure of his master. Shrewd, supple, and aspiring, he quickly crept into the queen's favour; and her French secretary happening to retire into his own country, she promoted Rizzio to that office. He now began to make a figure at court, and to appear as a man of weight and consequence: and he was soon regarded as the queen's confidential adviser, even in politics. To him the whole train of suitors and expectants applied; and among the rest Darnley, whose marriage Rizzio promoted, in hopes of acquiring a new patron, while he co-operated with the wishes of his mistress.

But this marriage, so natural and so inviting in all its circumstances, disappointed the expectations both of the queen and her favourite, and terminated in events the most shocking to humanity. Allured by the stature, symmetry, and exterior accomplishments of Darnley, Mary, in her choice, had overlooked the qualities of his mind, which corresponded ill with those of his person. As his temper was violent yet variable, she could neither by her gentleness bridle his insolent and imperious spirit, nor preserve him by her vigilance from rash and imprudent actions. Of mean understanding, but, like most fools, conceited of his own abilities, he was devoid of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleasures, to drunkenness and debauch-

ery, he was incapable of any true sentiments of love or tenderness²⁵. All Mary's fondness and generosity made no lasting impression on such a heart. He became by degrees, careless of her person, and a stranger to her company. To a woman and a queen such behaviour was intolerable, particularly to one who possessed great sensibility, and who, in the first effusions of her love, had taken a pride in exalting her husband beyond measure. She had granted him the title of King, and had joined his name with her own in all public acts. Her disappointed passion was therefore as violent, when roused into resentment, as her first affection had been strong; and his behaviour appeared ungenerous and criminal, in proportion to the original superiority of her rank, and the honour and consequence to which she had raised him.

The heart, sore from the wounds and the agitation of unrequited love, naturally seeks the repose, the consolation, and the lenient assuages of friendship. Rizzio still possessed the confidence of Mary; and as the brutal behaviour of her husband rendered a confidant now more necessary, she seems not only to have made use of her secretary's company and his musical talents to sooth her disquieted bosom, but to have imprudently shared with him her domestic griefs. To suppose that he also shared her embraces, is to offer an injury to her character for which history affords no proper foundation²⁶. But the assuming vanity of the upstart, who affected to talk often and familiarly with the queen in public, and who boasted of his intimacy in private; the dark and suspicious mind of Darnley, who, instead of imputing Mary's coldness to his own misconduct, which had so justly deserved it, ascribed the change in her behaviour to the influence of a new passion; together with the rigid austerity of the Scottish clergy, who would allow no freedoms; contributed to spread this opinion among the people, ever ready to listen to any slander on the court; and the enemies of the favourite, no less ready to take advantage of any popular clamour, made it a pretence for their unjust and inhuman vengeance.

Rizzio, who had connected his interests with the Catholics, was the declared enemy of the banished lords; and by promoting the violent prosecution against them, he had exposed himself to the animosity of their numerous friends and adherents. Among

²⁵ Goodall, vol. i.—Robertson, book iv.

²⁶ Buchanan, whose prejudices are well known, is the only Scottish historian who directly accuses Mary of a criminal love for Rizzio. Knox, notwithstanding his violence and inveteracy, only slightly insinuates that such a suspicion was entertained. But the silence of Randolph, the English resident, a man abundantly ready to mention, and to aggravate Mary's faults, and who does not once intimate that her confidence in Rizzio contained any thing criminal, is a sufficient vindication of her innocence in this respect.

these were the lords Ruthven and Lindsay, the earl of Morton, and Maitland of Lethington. While they were ruminating upon their grievances, and the means of redress, the king communicated his resolution to be avenged of Rizzio to lord Ruthven, and implored his assistance and that of his friends towards the execution of his design. Nothing could be more acceptable to the whole party than such an overture. The murder of the favourite was instantly agreed upon, and as quickly carried into execution. Morton having secured the gates of the palace with a hundred and sixty armed men, the king, accompanied by the other conspirators, entered the queen's apartment, by a private passage, while she was at supper with Rizzio and other courtiers. Alarmed at such an unusual visit, she demanded the reason of this rude intrusion. The malcontents answered her by pointing to Rizzio, who immediately retired behind the queen's chair, and seized her by the waist, hoping that the respect due to her royal person would prove some protection to him. But the conspirators had gone too far to be restrained by punctilios. George Douglas eagerly took the king's dagger, and struck it into the body of Rizzio, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary, and pushed into an adjoining room, where he was despatched with many wounds²⁷.

"I will weep no more," said the queen, drying her tears, when informed of her favourite's fate ;—"I shall now think of revenge." The insult on her person, the stain attempted to be fixed on her honour, and the danger to which her life was exposed on account of the advanced state of her pregnancy, were injuries so atrocious and complicated, as scarcely indeed to admit of pardon, even from the greatest lenity. Mary's resentment, however, was implacable against her husband alone. She artfully engaged him, by her persuasions and caresses, to disown all connexion with the conspirators, whom he had promised to protect; to deny any concurrence in their crime; and even to publish a proclamation containing so notorious a falsehood²⁸ ! And having thus made him expose himself to universal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him to acquire the confidence of any party, she threw him off with disdain and indignation.

As her anger, absorbed by injuries more recent and violent, had subsided from former offenders, she had been reconciled to the banished lords. They were reinstated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices in Rizzio's murder, who had fled into England on being deserted by Darnley, also applied to her for pardon : and although she at first refused compliance, she afterward, through the intercession of Bothwell, a new favourite, who was desirous of strengthening his party by the acces-

sion of their interest, permitted them to return into their own country²⁹.

The hour of Mary's labour now approached; and as it seemed imprudent to expose her person, unprotected, to the insults which she might suffer in a kingdom torn by faction, she left the palace, and made the castle of Edinburg the place of her residence. June 19. There she was safely delivered of a son; and this being a very important event to England as well as to Scotland, she instantly despatched Sir James Melvil to London with the interesting intelligence. It struck Elizabeth forcibly and by surprise. She had given a ball to her court at Greenwich on the evening of Melvill's arrival, and was displaying all that spirit and gaiety which usually attended her on such occasions; but no sooner was she informed of the birth of the prince, than all her vivacity left her. Sensible of the superiority her rival had now acquired, she sunk into a deep melancholy: she reclined her head upon her hand, the tears flowing down her cheek, and complained to some of her attendants, that the Queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself was but a barren stock³⁰. The next morning, however, at the audience of the ambassador, she resumed her wonted cheerfulness and dissimulation; thanked Melvil for his haste in bringing her such agreeable news, and expressed the most cordial friendship for "her sister Mary."

The birth of a son, as Elizabeth foresaw, gave additional zeal as well as weight to the partisans of the queen of Scots in England; and even men of the most opposite parties began to call aloud for some settlement of the crown. The English queen had now reigned almost eight years, without discovering the least intention to marry. A violent illness, with which she was seized, had lately endangered her life, and alarmed the nation with a prospect of all the calamities that are occasioned by a disputed and dubious succession. A motion was therefore made, and eagerly listened to in both houses of parliament, for addressing the queen on the subject. It was urged, that her love for her people, her duty to the public, her concern for posterity, equally called upon her, either to declare her own resolution to marry, or consent to an act establishing the order of succession to the crown³¹.

Elizabeth's ambitious and masculine character, and her repeated declarations, that she meant to live and die a VIRGIN-QUEEN, rendered it improbable, that she would take the first of these steps; and as no title to the crown could, with any colour of justice, be set in opposition to that of the queen of Scots,

29 Melvil.—Keith.—Knox.

30 Melvil.

31 D'Ewes' Journ. of Parliament.

most of the English nobility seemed convinced of the necessity of declaring her the presumptive successor. The union of the two kingdoms was a desirable object to all discerning men ; and the birth of the prince of Scotland gave hopes of its perpetuity. Even the more moderate Protestants, soothed by Mary's lenity to her own subjects, concurred with the Catholics in supporting her claim³². Nor would all the policy and address of Elizabeth have been able to prevent the settlement of the crown on her rival, had not Mary's indiscretions, if not her crimes, thrown her from the summit of prosperity, and plunged her in infamy and ruin.

James earl of Bothwell, a man of profligate manners, and by no means eminent for talents either civil or military, had distinguished himself by his attachment to the queen ; and, since the death of Rizzio, from the custody of whose murderers he had been the chief instrument of releasing her, Mary's gratitude, and perhaps a warmer sentiment, had gratified him with particular marks of her favour and confidence. She had raised him to offices of power and of trust, and transacted no matter of importance without his advice. Bothwell gained on her affection (for such it certainly soon became) in proportion as her regard for her husband declined : and her contempt for the latter appears to have been completed, though not occasioned, by her love for the former. She was not only suspected of a criminal commerce with the earl, but so indiscreet was her familiarity, and so strongly marked was her hatred against her husband, that, when Henry, unable to bear that insignificance into which he had fallen, left the court and retired to Glasgow, a disorder, which seized him soon after

A. D. 1567.
his arrival, was ascribed to a dose of poison, which, it was said, she had procured to be administered to him. The king himself, however, seems to have had no such suspicions ; for the queen having paid him a visit during his sickness, and discovered great anxiety for his recovery, he accompanied her to Edinburgh, as soon as he could be moved, in order that she herself might be able to attend him without being absent from her son³³. He was lodged for the benefit of retirement and air, as was pretended, in a solitary house called the Kirk of Field, situated on a rising ground at some distance from Holyrood-House. There he was assiduously attended by Mary, who slept several nights in the chamber under his apartment. But she suddenly, at night, left the Kirk of Field, in order to be present at a masque in the

³² Melvil.

³³ Goodal, vol. ii.—Dr. Robertson supposes this confidence to have been inspired by the insidious blandishments of Mary.

palace ; and, about three hours afterward, the house in which Feb. 10. the king lay was blown up with gunpowder, and his dead body was found in a neighbouring enclosure³⁴.

The earl of Bothwell was generally considered as the author of this horrid murder³⁵. Some suspicions were entertained that the queen herself was no stranger to the crime ; and the subsequent conduct of both, independent of every other circumstance, affords a strong presumption of their mutual guilt. Mary not only studiously avoided bringing Bothwell to a fair and legal trial³⁶, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of the earl of Lenox and the general voice of the nation, but allowed the man, who was publicly accused of the murder of her husband, to enjoy all the dignity and power, as well as all the confidence and familiarity of a favourite³⁷! She committed to him the government of the castle of Edinburgh³⁸; which, with the offices he already possessed, gave him the entire command of the south May 15. of Scotland. She was carried off by him, in returning from a visit to her son, and seemingly with her own consent³⁹; she lived with him for some time in a state of supposed violation; and as soon as he could procure a sentence, divorcing him from a young lady of virtue and merit, to whom he was lawfully married, she shamefully gave her hand to this reputed ravisher and regicide !

The particular steps by which these events were brought about are of little moment: it is more important to mark their consequences. Such a quick succession of incidents, so singular, and so detestable, filled Europe with amazement, and threw infamy not only on the principal actors in the guilty scene, but also on the whole nation. The Scots were universally reproached as men void of courage or of humanity; as equally regardless of the reputation of their queen and the honour of their country, in suffering such atrocious acts to pass with impunity⁴⁰.

³⁴ Crawford.—Spotswood.—Keith.

³⁵ Melvil's Mem. p. 155.—Anderson, vol. i.

³⁶ A kind of mock trial was hurried on with indecent precipitancy, and preceded by so many indications of violence, that Lenox was afraid to appear in support of his charge. After in vain craving delay, he therefore protested against the legality of any sentence that might be given. As no accuser appeared, the jury acquitted Bothwell : but this judgment, pronounced without the examination of a single witness, was considered as an argument of his guilt rather than a proof of his innocence. Besides other suspicious circumstances, he was accompanied to the place of trial by a large body of armed men. Anderson, vol. i.—Keith, p. 375, 376.

³⁷ Even when lying under the accusation of the king's murder, Bothwell lived for some time in the same house with Mary, and took his seat in the council as usual, instead of being confined to close prison. Anderson, vol. i. ii.

³⁸ Spotswood, p. 201.

³⁹ Melvil's Mem. p. 158. Melvil, who was himself one of Mary's attendants, tells us that he saw no signs of reluctance, and that he was informed the whole transaction was managed in concert with her.

⁴⁰ Anderson, vol. i.—Melvil, p. 163.—Robertson, Append. No. XX.

These merited reproaches, and the attempts of Bothwell to get the young prince into his power, roused the Scottish nobles from their lethargy. A considerable body of them assembled at Stirling, and entered into an association for the defence of the prince's person, and for punishing the king's murderers⁴¹. The queen and Bothwell were thrown by this league into the utmost consternation. They knew the sentiments of the nation with respect to their conduct; they foresaw the storm that was ready to burst on their heads; and, to provide against it, Mary issued a proclamation, requiring her subjects to take arms and attend her husband by a day appointed. She also published a sort of manifesto, in which she endeavoured to vindicate her government from those imputations with which it had been loaded, and employed the strongest terms to express her concern for the safety and welfare of the prince her son. But neither of these measures produced any considerable effect. The associated lords had assembled an army, before the queen and Bothwell were in any condition to face them. Mary and her husband fled to Dunbar; and as Bothwell had many dependants in that quarter, he collected in a short time such a force as emboldened him to leave the town and castle, and advance toward the confederates.

The two armies met at Carberry-hill, near Edinburgh; and Mary was soon made sensible, that her own troops, nearly equal in number to those of the confederates, disapproved her cause, and were unwilling to risque their lives in her quarrel⁴². They discovered no inclination to fight. She endeavoured to animate them: she wept, she threatened, she reproached them with cowardice; but all in vain. After some bravadoes of Bothwell, to vindicate his innocence by single combat, (which, however, he declined when an adversary offered to enter the lists) Mary saw no resource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, one of the chief confederates, and of putting herself, on some general promises, into their hands⁴³.

Bothwell, during this parley, fled unattended to Dunbar; where, finding it impossible to assemble an army, he fitted out some small vessels, set sail for the Orkneys, and there subsisted some time by piracy. But being pursued even to that extreme corner by Kirkaldy, the greater part of his little fleet was taken, with several of his servants, who afterward discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder, and suffered for their share

⁴¹ Keith, p. 394.

⁴² Spotswood, p. 207.—Keith, p. 401, 402.

⁴³ Calderwood, vol. ii.—Melvil, p. 165.

in the crime⁴⁴. The earl himself made his escape to Norway with a single ship. On that coast he attempted to renew his piracies; was there taken, thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably, ten years after, in a dungeon, unpitied by his countrymen, and neglected by strangers⁴⁵.

The queen, now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with such treatment as a sovereign may naturally expect from subjects who have their future security to provide for, as well as their present animosity to gratify. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amid the insults of the populace; who reproached her with her crimes, and held up before her eyes, whichever way she turned, a standard, on which was painted the dead body of her late husband, with her infant son kneeling before it, and uttering these words: "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!"—Mary shrunk with horror from such a shocking object; but, notwithstanding all her arguments and entreaties, the same standard was exhibited, and the same insults and reproaches were repeated⁴⁶. Under pretence that her behaviour was unsuitable to her condition, and fearing the return of Bothwell, to whom she still declared her attachment, the confederates now sent her to the castle of Lochleven, and signed a warrant to William Douglas, the proprietor of the fortress, to detain her as a prisoner⁴⁷.

No sooner did the news of these events reach England, than Elizabeth, apparently laying aside all her jealousies and fears, seemed resolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinswoman. She instantly despatched sir Nicholas Throgmorton into Scotland, with power to negotiate both with the queen and the confederates. In his instructions there appears a remarkable solicitude for Mary's liberty, and even for her reputation. But neither Elizabeth's interposition, nor Throgmorton's zeal and abilities, were of much benefit to the Scottish queen. The confederates apprehended that Mary, elate with the prospect of protection, would reject their overtures with disdain: they therefore peremptorily denied the ambassador access to their prisoner, and either refused or eluded his proposals in her behalf⁴⁸.

The queen of Scots, in the mean time, endured all the rigours and horrors of a prison. No prospect of liberty appeared; none of her subjects had either taken arms, or even solicited her relief; nor was any person in whom she could confide admitted into her presence. She was cut off from all the world. In this melancholy situation, without a counsellor, without a friend, un-

44 Anderson, vol. ii.

46 Crawford's Mem. p. 33.—Keith, p. 402.—Robertson, book iv

47 Keith, p. 403.

45 Melvil, p. 168.

48 Id. p. 411.

der the pressure of misfortune, and the apprehension of danger, it was natural for a woman to listen to almost any overtures. The confederates took advantage of Mary's distress and of her fears. They employed lord Lindsay, the fiercest zealot of the party, to make her acquainted with their purpose; and they threatened to prosecute her, as the principal conspirator against the life of her husband and the safety of her son, if she refused to comply with their demands. Mary overpowered by her unhappy condition, and believing that no deed which she should execute during her captivity would be valid, signed a July 24. resignation of the crown; in consequence of which the earl of Murray was appointed regent under the young prince, who was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI⁴⁹.

Here, my dear Philip, I must make a pause, for the sake of perspicuity. The subsequent part of this interesting story, the continuation of the civil wars in France, and the rise of those in the Low Countries, will furnish materials for the next Letter.

49 Anderson.—Melvil.—Keith.

LETTER LXIX.

History of Great Britain, from the Flight of the Queen of Scots into England, with an Account of the Civil Wars on the Continent, till the Death of Charles IX. of France, in 1574.

THE condescension of Mary in resigning the crown to her son, and the administration of affairs to her rebellious subjects, did not procure her enlargement. She was still confined in the castle of Lochleven. A parliament, summoned by the earl of Murray, even declared her resignation valid, and her imprisonment lawful, while it recognised his election to the office of regent¹; and being a man of vigour and abilities, he employed himself with success in reducing the kingdom to obedience.

But although most men seemed to acquiesce in Murray's authority, there still were in Scotland many secret murmurs and cabals. The duke of Chatelherault, who as first prince of the blood, thought he had an undoubted right to the regency, bore no good will to the new government; and similar sentiments were embraced by his numerous friends and adherents. All

¹ Anderson, vol. ii

who leaned to the ancient opinions in religion were inclined to join this party ; and the length and rigour of Mary's sufferings began to move many, who had formerly detested her crimes, or blamed her imprudence, to commiserate her present condition².

A. D. 1568. Animated by these different motives, a body of the nobility met at Hamilton, and concerted measures for supporting the cause of the queen.

While the Scots seemed thus returning to sentiments of duty and loyalty to their sovereign, Mary recovered her liberty, in a manner no less surprising to her friends than unexpected by her enemies. She engaged, by her charms and caresses, George Douglas, her keeper's brother, to assist her in attempting her escape. He conveyed her in disguise into a small boat, May 2. and rowed her ashore. She hastened to Hamilton, and soon saw around her a body of nobles, and about six thousand combatants. Her resignation of the crown, which, she declared, had been extorted by fear, was pronounced illegal and void, in a council of the chief men of her party ; and an association was formed for the defence of her person and authority, and subscribed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and many gentlemen of distinction³.

Elizabeth, when informed of the escape of the queen of Scots, affected a resolution of assisting her ; and despatched Maitland of Lethington into Scotland, to offer her good offices and military support⁴. But the regent was so expeditious in assembling forces, that the fate of Scotland was decided before any English succours could arrive. Confiding in the valour of his troops, Murray took the field with an army far inferior to that of Mary in number ; and a battle was fought at Langside near Glasgow, which proved decisive in his favour, and was followed by the total dispersion of the queen's party.

Mary, who, within the space of thirteen days, had been a prisoner at the mercy of her rebellious subjects, had seen a powerful army under her command and a numerous train of nobles at her devotion, was now obliged to flee, in the utmost danger of her life, and lurk with a few attendants in a corner of her kingdom. She had beheld the engagement from a neighbouring hill ; and so lively were her impressions of fear when she saw that army broken on which her last hope rested, that she did not close her eyes before she reached the abbey of Dundrenan in Galloway, above sixty miles from the field of battle⁵. Not thinking herself safe, even in that obscure retreat, and still haunted by the horrors of a prison, she embraced the rash re-

² Buchan. lib. xviii.

³ Buchan. lib. xix.—Keith, p. 477.

⁴ Keith, p. 475.

⁵ Keith, p. 482.

solution of retiring into England, and of throwing herself on the generosity of her royal relative.

Elizabeth was now under the necessity of adopting some decisive resolution with regard to her treatment of the queen of Scots ; and the pleasure of mortifying, while in her power, a rival whose beauty and accomplishments she envied, together with the cautious and interested councils of Cecil her prime minister, determined her to disregard all the motives of friendship and generous sympathy, and to regulate her conduct solely by the cruel maxims of an insidious policy. In answer, therefore, to Mary's message, notifying her arrival in England, craving leave to visit the queen, and claiming her protection, in consequence of former promises and professions of regard, Elizabeth artfully replied, that while the queen of Scots lay under the imputation of a crime so horrid as the murder of her husband, she could not, without bringing a stain on her own reputation, admit her into her presence ; but as soon as she had cleared herself from that aspersion, she might depend on a reception suitable to her dignity, and support proportioned to her necessities⁶.

Mary was overwhelmed with sorrow and surprise at so unexpected a manner of evading her request : nor was her bosom a stranger to the feelings of indignation ; but the distress of her condition obliged her to declare, that she was ready to justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and would cheerfully submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend⁷. This was the very point to which Elizabeth wished to bring the matter, and the great object of her intrigues. She now considered herself as umpire between the queen of Scots and her subjects, and began to act in that capacity. She proposed to nominate commissioners to hear the pleadings on both sides, and desired the regent to appoint proper persons to appear before them in his name, and to produce what he could allege in vindication of his proceedings against his sovereign.

Mary, who had hitherto relied with some degree of confidence on Elizabeth's professions, and who, when she consented to submit her cause to that princess, expected that the queen herself would receive and examine her defences, now plainly perceived the artifice of her rival, and the snare that had been laid for her⁸. She, therefore, retracted the offer she had made, and which had been perverted to a purpose contrary to her intentions: she meant to consider Elizabeth as an equal, for whose satisfaction she was willing to explain any part of her conduct that seemed liable to censure, not to acknowledge her as a superior. But her own words will best express her sentiments on this subject. " In my

6 Anderson, vol. iv.

7 Id. *ibid*.8 Anderson. *ubi sup*.

present situation," says she in a letter to the English queen. "I neither will nor can reply to the accusations of my subjects. But I am ready, of my own accord, and out of friendship to you, to satisfy your scruples, and to vindicate my own conduct. My subjects are not my equals: nor will I, by submitting my cause to a judicial trial, acknowledge them to be so. I fled into your arms as into those of my nearest relation and most perfect friend. I did you honour, as I imagined, in choosing you preferably to any other sovereign, to be the restorer of an injured queen. Was it ever known that a prince was blamed for hearing in person the complaints of those who applied to his justice, against the false accusations of their enemies? You admitted into your presence my bastard brother, who had been guilty of rebellion; and you deny me that honour! God forbid that I should be the cause of bringing any stain on your reputation! I expected that your manner of treating me would have added lustre to it. Suffer me either to implore the aid of other potentates, whose delicacy on this head will be less, and resentment of my wrongs greater; or let me receive from your hands that assistance which it becomes you more than any other sovereign to grant; and by that benefit bind me to yourself in the indissoluble ties of gratitude⁹."

This letter, which somewhat disconcerted her plan, the English queen communicated to her privy council; and it was declared, that she could not, consistently with her own honour, or with the safety of her government, either give the queen of Scots the assistance which she demanded, or permit her to retire out of the kingdom, before the termination of the inquiry into her conduct. It was also agreed to remove Mary, for the sake of greater safety, from Carlisle, where she had taken refuge, to Bolton castle in Yorkshire, belonging to lord Scope¹⁰.

The resolution of the privy council, with regard to Mary's person, was immediately carried into execution; and she found herself entirely in her rival's power. Her correspondence with her friends in Scotland was now more difficult; all prospect of escape was cut off; and although she was still treated with the respect due to a queen, her real condition was that of a prisoner. She knew what it was to be deprived of liberty, and dreaded confinement as the worst of evils.

Elizabeth took advantage of this season of terror, of impatience, and despair, to extort Mary's consent to the projected trial. She was confident, she said, that the queen of Scots would find no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; and though her apology should even fall short of conviction, she was determined to support her cause. It was never

⁹ Anderson, vol. iv.

¹⁰ Anderson, vol. iv.

meant, she added, that Mary should be cited to a trial on the accusation of her rebellious subjects; but, on the contrary, that they should be summoned to appear and to justify themselves for their conduct toward her¹¹. Commissioners were accordingly appointed by the English court for the examination of this great cause; and conferences took place between them and the Scottish commissioners, first at York, and afterward at Westminster.

During the conferences at York, Mary's commissioners seemed to triumph, as the regent had hitherto declined accusing her of any participation in the guilt of her husband's murder, which alone could justify the violent proceedings of her subjects. But the face of the question was soon changed, on the renewal of the conferences at Westminster immediately under the eye of the English queen. Murray, encouraged by the assurances of Elizabeth's protection, laid aside his delicacy and his fears, and not only charged his sovereign with consenting to the murder of her husband, but with being accessory to the contrivance and execution of it. The same accusation was offered by the earl of Lenox, who, appearing before the English commissioners, craving vengeance for the blood of his son¹².

But accusations were not sufficient for Elizabeth; she wished to have proofs; and, in order to draw them with decency from the regent, she commanded her delegates to testify her indignation and displeasure at his presumption, in forgetting so far the duty of a subject as to accuse his sovereign of such atrocious crimes. Murray, thus arraigned in his turn, offered to show that his accusations were neither false nor malicious. He produced, among other evidence in support of his charge, some sonnets and love-letters, from Mary to Bothwell, written partly before, partly after the murder of her husband, and containing incontestible proofs of her consent to that barbarous deed, of her criminal amours, and her concurrence in the pretended rape¹³.

11 Anderson, vol. iv.

12 Goodall, vol. ii.—Anderson, vol. iv.

13 Some bold attempts have lately been made to prove these letters and sonnets to be forgeries; but, unfortunately for Mary's reputation, the principal arguments, in support of their authenticity, yet remain unanswered. 1. They were examined and compared with her acknowledged hand-writing, in many letters to Elizabeth, not only by the English commissioners, and by the Scottish council and parliament, but by the English privy council, assisted by several noblemen well affected to the cause of the queen of Scots, who all admitted them to be authentic. (Anderson, vol. iv.) This circumstance is of great weight in the dispute; for although it is not very difficult to counterfeit a subscription, it is almost impossible to counterfeit any number of pages so perfectly as to elude detection. 2. Mary, and her commissioners, by declining to refute the charge of the regent, though requested to attempt a refutation in any manner or form, and assured by Elizabeth that silence would be considered as the fullest confession of guilt, seemed to admit the justice of the accusation. (Id. *Ibid.*) 3. The duke of Norfolk, who had been favoured with every opportunity of examining the letters in question, and who gave the strongest marks of his attachment to the

Stunned by this latent blow, against which it appears they were not provided with any proper defence, Mary's commissioners endeavoured to change the inquiry into a negotiation; and finding that attempt impracticable, as the English commissioners insisted on proceeding, they finally broke off the conferences without making any reply.

Elizabeth, having obtained these evidences of her rival's guilt, began to treat her with less delicacy. Orders were given for removing Mary from Bolton, a place surrounded with Catholics, to Tutbury, in the county of Stafford. And as Elizabeth entertained hopes that the queen of Scots, depressed by her misfortunes, and still feeling the shock of the late attack on her reputation, would now be glad to secure a retreat at the expense of her grandeur, she promised to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree either to confirm her resignation of the crown, or to associate her son with her in the government, and permit the administration to remain with the earl of Murray during the minority of James. But that high-spirited princess refused all treaty on such terms. "Death," said she "is less dreadful than such an ignominious step. Rather than give away with my own hands the crown which descended to me from my ancestors, I will part with life; the last words which I utter shall be those of a queen of Scotland¹."

After an end had been put to the conference, the regent returned to Scotland, and Mary was confined more closely than ever. In vain did she still demand, that Elizabeth should either assist her in recovering her authority, or to permit her to retire into France, and make trial of the friendship of other potentates. Aware of the danger attending both these proposals, Elizabeth resolved to comply with neither, but to detain her rival still a prisoner;—and the proofs produced of Mary's guilt, she hoped, would apologise for this severity. The queen of Scots, however, before the regent's departure, had artfully re-erminated upon him and his party, by accusing them of hav-

queen of Scots, yet believed them to be authentic. (*State Trials*, vol. i.) 4. In the conferences between the duke, Maitland of Lethington, and bishop Lesley, all zealous partisans of Mary, the authenticity of the letters, and her participation in the murder of her husband, are always taken for granted. (*Id. ibid.*) 5. Independently of all other evidence, the letters themselves contain many internal proofs of their authenticity; many minute and unnecessary particulars, which could have occurred to no person employed to forge them, and which, as the English commissioners ingeniously observed, "were unknown to any other than to herself and Bothwell." 6. Their very indelicacy is a proof of their authenticity; for although Mary, in an amorous moment, might slide into a gross expression, in writing to a man to whom she had sacrificed her honour, the framer of no forgery could hope to secure its credibility by imputing such expressions to so polite and accomplished a princess as the queen of Scots.

¹ Haynes, p. 497.—Goodall, vol. ii.

ing devised and executed the murder of the king. And although this charge, which was not adduced before the dissolution of the conferences, was generally considered as a mere expression of resentment¹⁵, Mary had behaved with such modesty, propriety, and even dignity, during her confinement, that her friends were enabled, on plausible grounds, to deny the reality of the crimes imputed to her; and a scheme was formed in both kingdoms, for restoring her to liberty and replacing her on the throne.

The fatal marriage of the queen of Scots with Bothwell was the grand source of all her misfortunes. A divorce alone could repair, in any degree, the injuries her reputation had suffered by that step; and a new choice seemed the most effectual means of recovering her authority. Her friends, therefore, looked out for a husband whose influence would be sufficient to accomplish this desirable end. A foreign alliance was, for many reasons, to be avoided; and as the duke of Norfolk, was without comparison, the first subject in England, and enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular with the most opposite factions, his marriage with the queen of Scots appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his own friends, as well as to those of Mary. Maitland of Lethington opened the scheme to him. He sat before that nobleman the glory of composing the dissensions in Scotland, and at the same time held to his view the prospect of reaping the succession of England. The duke readily closed with a proposal so flattering to his ambition; nor was Mary herself unfriendly to a measure which promised so desirable a change in her condition¹⁶.

But this scheme, like all those formed for the relief of the queen of Scots, had an unfortunate issue. Though the duke had declared that Elizabeth's consent should be obtained before the conclusion of his marriage, he attempted previously to gain the approbation of the most considerable English nobility, as he had reason to apprehend a violent opposition from the perpetual and unrelenting jealousy of her rival; and as the nation now began to despair of the queen's marrying, and Mary's right to the succession was scarcely doubted by any one, A. D. 1569, her alliance with an Englishman, and a zealous Protestant, seemed so effectually to provide against all those evils which

¹⁵ Hume, vol. v.—If Mary's commissioners could have produced any proofs of the earl of Murray's guilt, they would surely, as able advocates and zealous partisans, have prevented the accusation of her enemies; or they would have confronted accusation with accusation, instead of breaking off the conferences at the very moment when the charge was brought against their mistress, and when all their eloquence was necessary for the vindication of her honour.

¹⁶ Camden.—Haynes.

might be apprehended from her choice of a foreign and a popish prince, that the greater part of the peers, either directly or tacitly, approved it as a salutary project. Even the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's avowed favourite, seemed to enter zealously into the duke's interests, and wrote a letter to Mary, subscribed by several other noblemen, warmly recommending the match¹⁷.

So extensive a confederacy could not escape the vigilance of Elizabeth, or of her minister Cecil, a man of the deepest penetration, and sincerely attached to her person and government. Norfolk, however, flattered himself that the union of so many noblemen would make it necessary for the queen to comply; and in a matter of so much consequence to the nation, the taking a few steps without her knowledge could scarcely, he thought, be deemed criminal. But Elizabeth thought otherwise. Any measure to her appeared criminal, that tended so visibly to save the reputation and increase the power of her rival. She also saw, that, how perfect soever Norfolk's allegiance might be, and that of the greater part of the noblemen who espoused his cause, they who conducted the intrigue had farther and more dangerous views than the relief of the queen of Scots; and she dropped several hints to the duke, that she was acquainted with his views, warning him frequently to "beware on what pillow he reposed his head¹⁸!" Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was at length given her by Leicester, who had perhaps countenanced the project with no other intention than to defeat it. The Scottish regent, threatened with Elizabeth's displeasure, also meanly betrayed the duke; put his letters into her hands, and furnished all the information in his power. Norfolk was committed to the Tower; several other noblemen were taken into custody; and the queen of Scots was removed to Coventry, where her imprisonment was rendered more intolerable by an excess of vigilance and rigour¹⁹.

This intrigue was no sooner discovered than an attempt was made for restoring the Scottish queen to liberty by force of arms. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most ancient and powerful of the English peers, were attached to the Romish religion, and discontented with the court, where new men and new measures prevailed. Ever since Mary's arrival in England they had warmly espoused her interests, and had even engaged in several plots for her relief. They were privy to Norfolk's scheme; but the moderation and coolness of that nobleman did not suit their ardour and impetuosity. The liberty of the Scottish queen was not their sole object: they aimed at bringing about a change in the religion and a revolution in

17 Lesley.—Haynes.

18 Camden.—Spotswood

19 Haynes.

the government of the kingdom. For these purposes they had solicited the aid of the king of Spain, the avowed patron of popery, and the natural enemy of Elizabeth. Glad of an opportunity of disturbing the tranquillity of England, Philip ordered the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries, to encourage the two earls in their projected rebellion, by a promise of money and troops²⁰. But Elizabeth fortunately gained intelligence of their schemes before they were ready to take the field; and though they immediately assembled their retainers, and flew to arms, the queen acted with so much prudence and vigour, that they were obliged to disperse themselves without striking a blow. The common people retired to their houses, the leaders fled into Scotland²¹.

Elizabeth was so well pleased with the behaviour of the duke of Norfolk, during this insurrection, that she released him from the Tower, and allowed him to live in his own house, though under some show of confinement. But the queen of Scots, with whom he promised to hold no farther correspondence, was now more strictly guarded; and Elizabeth, sensible of the danger of detaining her any longer in England, resolved to give up Mary into the hands of the regent, whose security, no less than that of the English queen, depended on preventing her from ascending the throne. The negotiation for this purpose had been carried some length, when it was discovered by the vigilance of Lesley, bishop of Ross, who, with the French and Spanish ambassadors, remonstrated against the infamy of such a transaction. A delay was thus procured; and the violent death of the regent, who was shot, in revenge of a domestic injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, prevented the revival of the project²².

On the death of the earl of Murray, who possessed vigour and abilities, with an austere and unamiable character, Scotland relapsed into a state of anarchy. The queen's party seemed for a time to prevail; but, at length, through the interposition of Elizabeth, who accompanied her recommendation with an armed force, the earl of Lenox was chosen regent; and Mary, after being amused during ten months by a deceitful negotiation and the hopes of liberty, found herself under stricter custody

²⁰ Carte, vol. iii.

²¹ Camden's Ann.

²² Carte, vol. iii.—Anderson, vol. iii.—Part of Hamilton's estate had been bestowed upon one of the regent's favourites, who seized his house, and turned out his wife naked, in a cold night, into the fields; where, before morning, she became furiously mad. From that moment he vowed revenge against the earl of Murray. Party rage strengthened and inflamed his private resentment; and the maxims of that age appeared to justify the most desperate course he could take to obtain vengeance. He followed the regent for some time, watching an opportunity to strike the blow; and at last shot him from a window as he was passing through Linlithgow, in his way from Stirling to Edinburgh.—Crawford's Mem.—Buchanan.—Robertson.

than ever, and without any hopes of escaping from it²³. In that joyless situation we must leave her for a while, and take a view of the civil wars on the continent, the issue of which nearly concerned both the British queens.

Elizabeth was sensible, that, as the head of the Protestant party, her safety in a great measure depended on the continuance of the commotions in France and the Low Countries. She therefore contributed, as we have seen, both secretly and openly, to enable and encourage the reformers to support the struggle, while she watched the motions of the Catholics with a jealous eye. And an event happened about this time which increased her vigilance. Pope Pius V., after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate the favour and friendship of Elizabeth, issued a bull of excommunication against her; depriving her of all title to the crown, and absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance. This bull, which had, without doubt, been fulminated at the instigation of the catholic princes, was affixed to the gates of the bishop of London's palace by one John Felton, a zealous papist; who scorning either to flee or deny the fact, was seized, condemned, and executed. He not only suffered with constancy, but seemed to consider death, in such a cause, as a triumph²⁴.

Thus roused by the violent spirit of popery, Elizabeth, who had never been remiss, fixed her eye more steadily on the religious wars in France and the Low Countries. The league concerted at Bayonne, as has been already noticed, for the extermination of the Protestants, had not been concluded so secretly, but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligny, and other leaders of that party in France. Finding the measures of the court correspond with their suspicions, they determined to prevent the cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to strike a blow before the catholics were aware of their danger. In consequence of this resolution, they formed in 1567, the bold design of surprising the king and queen-mother, who were living in security at Monceau in Brie; and had not the court received some indirect information of the conspiracy, which induced them to remove to Meaux, and been besides protected by a body of Swiss, who came hastily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they must have fallen without resistance into the hands of the Protestants²⁵.

A battle was soon after fought in the plains of St. Denis; where, though the old constable Montmorency, the general of the Catholics, was slain, the Huguenots were defeated by rea-

²³ Spotswood.—Lesley.

²⁴ Davila, lib. iv.—Mecoray. tome v.

²⁵ Camden's Ann.

son of their inferiority in numbers. Condé, however, still undismayed, collected his broken troops ; and, having received a strong reinforcement of German Protestants, appeared again in the field at the head of a formidable force. With that new army he traversed great part of the kingdom ; and at last laying siege to Chartres, a place of much importance, obliged the court, in 1568, to agree to an accommodation²⁶.

This peace, being but a temporary expedient, and sincere on neither side, was of short duration. The queen-mother, deceitful in all her negotiations, had formed a scheme for the seizure of Condé and Coligny. They received intelligence of their danger, fled to Rochelle, and summoned their partisans to their assistance. Thither the Huguenots resorted in great numbers, and the civil war was renewed with greater fury than ever.—The duke of Anjou commanded the Catholics ; and gained, in 1569, under the direction of the *maréchal de Tavannes*, the famous battle of Jarnac, after a struggle of seven hours. The prince of Condé, being wounded and made prisoner, was carried off the field, and killed in cold blood by a captain of the duke's guards²⁷.

But this defeat, though accompanied with the loss of so great a leader, did not break the spirit of the Huguenots. Coligny, whose courage was superior to all difficulties, still gallantly supported their cause ; and having placed at the head of the party the king of Navarre, only sixteen years of age, and the young prince of Condé, to both of whom he acted as a father, he encouraged the protestants rather to perish bravely in the field than by the hands of the executioner. Their ardour was not inferior to his own ; and being strengthened by a reinforcement of Germans, they obliged the duke of Anjou to retreat, and invested Poitiers²⁸.

As the eyes of all France were fixed on this enterprise, the young duke of Guise, emulous of the renown which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himself into the town, and so animated the garrison by his valour and conduct, that Coligny was obliged to raise the siege, in spite of his most vigorous efforts, after losing three thousand men²⁹. Such was the rise of the reputation of Henry duke of Guise, whom we shall afterward see attain so distinguished a height of fame and grandeur, and whose ambition engaged him in schemes so destructive of the authority of his sovereign, and the repose of his native country.

Elizabeth, ever watchful of the civil commotions in France, was by no means pleased with this revival of the power of the

²⁶ Davila, lib. v.—Mezeray, tome v.

²⁷ Mezeray, *ubi sup.*—Hénault, tome i.

²⁸ Davila, lib. v.

²⁹ *Id.* *ibid.*

house of Lorrain ; and, being anxious for the fate of the Protestants, whose interests were so intimately connected with her own, she sent them secretly a sum of money, besides artillery and military stores³⁰. She also permitted Henry Campernon to transport to France a regiment of gentlemen volunteers. Meanwhile Coligny, constrained by the impatience of his troops, and the difficulty of subsisting them, fought with the duke of Anjou and the maréchal de Tavannes the memorable battle of Montcontour, in which he was wounded and defeated, with the loss nearly of ten thousand men³¹.

The court of France, and the Catholics, elate with this victory, vainly flattered themselves that the power of the Huguenots was finally broken ; and therefore neglected to take any farther steps for crushing an enemy no longer thought capable of resistance. What was then their surprise to hear that Coligny, still undismayed, had suddenly appeared in another quarter of the kingdom ; had inspired with all his ardour and constancy the two young princes whom he governed ; had assembled a formidable army, accomplished an extraordinary march, and was ready to besiege Paris !—The public finances, diminished by the continued disorders, and wasted by so many fruitless wars, could not bear the charge of a new armament. The king was therefore obliged, in 1570, notwithstanding his violent animosity against the Protestants, to enter into a negotiation with them at St. Germain en Laye ; to grant them a pardon for all past offences ; to declare them capable of all offices, both civil and military ; to renew the edicts for liberty of conscience ; and cede to them for two years as places of refuge, and pledges of their security, Rochelle, La Charité, Montauban, and Cognac³². The first of these cities kept the sea open for receiving succours from England, in case of a new war; the second preserved the passage of the Loire; the third commanded the frontiers of Languedoc and Quercy; and the fourth opened a passage into Angoumois, where the Huguenots had greater strength than in any other province.

Thus an end was seemingly put to the civil wars of France. But Charles was in no degree reconciled to his rebellious subjects : and this accommodation was employed as a snare, by which the perfidious court might carry more securely into execution that project which had been formed for the destruction of the Protestants. Their leaders were accordingly invited to Paris, and loaded with favours ; and, in order to lull the party into yet greater security, Charles not only declared, that, convinced of the impossibility of forcing men's consciences, he was

³⁰ Camden's Ann.

³² Davila, lib. v.—Mezeray, tome v.

³¹ Davila, lib. v.—Mezeray, tome v.

determined to allow every one the free exercise of his religion, but affected to enter into close connexions with Elizabeth³³. He proposed a marriage between her and the duke of Anjou; a prince whose youth, beauty, and valour, qualities to which the queen never appeared insensible, it was hoped, would serve for some time to amuse the court of England.

Elizabeth, whose artful politics never triumphed so much as in those intrigues which were connected with her coquetry, immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France. Negotiations, equally insincere on both sides, were accordingly commenced with regard to the marriage, and broken off under various pretences. Both courts, however, succeeded in their schemes. Charles's artifices, or rather those of Catharine, imposed on Elizabeth, and blinded the Huguenots; and the prospect of the queen's marriage, and of an alliance between France and England, discouraged the partisans of Mary, so ready at all times to disturb the repose of the latter kingdom³⁴.

Elizabeth had also other motives for her dissimulation. The violent authority established by Philip in the Low Countries made her desirous of fortifying herself even with the shadow of a new confederacy. Not satisfied with having reduced to their former state of obedience the revolted Flemings, whom his barbarous persecutions had roused to arms, that bigoted and tyrannical prince seemed determined to make the late popular disorders a pretence for utterly abolishing their privileges, and ruling them thenceforth with an arbitrary sway.

The duke of Alva, a fit instrument in the hands of such a despot, being employed by Philip to carry this violent design into execution, had conducted into the Low Countries, in 1568, a powerful body of Spanish and Italian veterans. The appearance of such an army, with the inexorable and vindictive character of its leader, struck the Flemings with terror and consternation. Their apprehensions were but too just. The privileges of the provinces were openly and expressly abolished by an edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals were erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, notwithstanding their great merit and former services, and although they had been chiefly instrumental in quelling the late revolt, were brought to the block; multitudes were daily delivered over to the executioner; and nothing was to be heard or seen but seizure, confiscation, imprisonment, torture, and death³⁵.

Meanwhile William of Nassau, prince of Orange, surnamed the Silent, whose estate had been confiscated, was employed in raising an army of German Protestants, in order to attempt the

³³ Camden.—Davila.—Digges. ³⁴ Camden.—Davila.—Digges. ³⁵ Temple.—Grotius.

relief of his native country ; and having completed his levies, he entered the Netherlands at the head of twenty-eight thousand men, and offered battle to the duke of Alva. But that prudent general, sensible of the importance of delay, declined the challenge; and the Spaniards being in possession of all the fortified towns, the prince was obliged, from want of money, to disband his army, without being able to effect any thing of importance³⁶.

Alva's good fortune only increased his insolence and cruelty. After entering Brussels in triumph, he ordered diligent search to be made after all who had assisted the prince of Orange, and put them to death by various tortures. He then commanded that fortresses should be built in the principal towns ; and at Antwerp he caused his own statue to be erected, in the attitude of treading on the necks of two smaller statues, representing the two estates of the Low Countries, accompanied with the emblems of heresy and rebellion! Not satisfied with enslaving and insulting a free people, he proceeded to oppress them by enormous exactions. He demanded the hundredth penny, as a tax on all goods, whether moveable or immoveable, to supply his present exigencies ; and, for the future, the twentieth penny annually on all immoveable goods or heritage ; and the tenth penny on all moveable goods, to be levied at every sale³⁷. The inhabitants refused to submit to such unreasonable and burthensome imposts. The duke had recourse to his usual severities ; and the Flemings seemed in danger of being reduced to the most abject state of wretchedness, while the courts of France and England were amusing each other with a matrimonial treaty.

Elizabeth, however, was never inattentive to the affairs of the Low Countries. She was equally displeased to see the progress of the scheme laid for the extermination of the Protestants, and to observe the erection of so great a military power in her immediate neighbourhood ; and hence, as already observed, she endeavoured to guard herself against the ambition of Philip by the appearance of an alliance with France. But her danger from the Low Countries was greater than she suspected it to be.

The queen of Scots, thinking herself abandoned by the court of France, had applied for protection to that of Spain ; and Philip, whose dark and thoughtful mind delighted in the mystery of intrigue, had maintained for some time a secret correspondence with Mary, by means of Lesley bishop of Ross, her ambassador at the court of England, and had supplied both herself and her adherents in Scotland with money. At length a
A. D. 1571. scheme for rescuing Mary, and subverting the English government, was concerted by the bishop of Ross, the Spa

³⁶ Le Clerc, lib. i.—Grotius, lib. i.

³⁷ Le Clerc, lib. i.—Grotius, lib. i.

nish ambassador, and Ridolphi, a Florentine, who had resided long in London, and was a private agent for the pope. Their plan was, that the duke of Alva should land ten thousand men in the neighbourhood of London; that the duke of Norfolk, whom they had drawn into their measure, and who had renewed his engagements with the queen of Scots, notwithstanding his solemn promise to hold no correspondence with her, should join the Spaniards with all his friends, together with the English Catholics and malcontents; that they should march in a body to the capital, and oblige Elizabeth to submit to what conditions they should think fit to impose³⁸.

But the queen and nation were delivered from this danger by the suspicious temper of one of Norfolk's servants. Being entrusted with a bag of money under the denomination of silver, he concluded it to be gold from its weight, and carried it to secretary Cecil, then lord Burghly, whose penetrating genius soon discovered, and whose activity brought the whole conspiracy to light. The duke of Norfolk, betrayed by his other servants, who had been privy to the plot, was seized, condemned as a traitor, and executed. The bishop of Ross was committed to the Tower; the Spanish ambassador was commanded to leave England; and the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to Elizabeth about this time by the regent of Scotland, was brought to the block for his share in the former rebellion³⁹. Ridolphi, then on his journey to Brussels, escaped the arm of vengeance.

The queen of Scots, who had been either the immediate or remote cause of all these disturbances, was kept under a stricter guard than formerly; the number of her domestics was abridged, and no person was permitted to see her but in the presence of her keepers. The English parliament was even so enraged against her, that the commons made a direct application for her instant trial and execution⁴⁰. But although Elizabeth durst not carry matters to such extremity against Mary, or was not at that time so disposed, the restless spirit of the captive princess, and her close connexion with Spain, made the queen of England resolve to act without disguise or ambiguity in the affairs of Scotland.

That kingdom was still in a state of anarchy. The castle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of her party, encouraged by this circumstance, had taken possession of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war against the regent. By an unexpected enter-

³⁸ State Trials, vol. i.—Lesley, p. 155.

⁴⁰ D'Ewes, Journ. of Parl.

³⁹ Id. *ibid.*—Strype, vol. ii.

prise, they seized that nobleman at Stirling, and put him to death in revenge of former injuries. They were, however, overpowered by a detachment from the castle and an insurrection of the townsmen, and obliged to retire with precipitation.

The earl of Mar was chosen regent of Scotland in the room of Lenox, and found the same difficulties to encounter in the government of that divided kingdom. He was therefore glad to accept the mediation of the French and English ambassadors, and to conclude on equal terms a truce with the queen's party. He was a man of a free and generous spirit; and finding it impossible to accommodate matters between the parties, or maintain his own authority without submitting to a dependence on England, he died of melancholy, occasioned by the distracted state of his country.

Mar was succeeded in the regency of Scotland by the earl of Morton, who had secretly taken all his measures in concert with Elizabeth; and as she was now determined to exert herself effectually in support of the king's party, she ordered sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, to march with troops and artillery to Edinburgh, and besiege the castle. Kirkaldy, after a gallant defence of thirty-three days, against all the efforts of the commanders of the two nations, who pushed their attacks with courage and with emulation, was obliged to surrender, by reason of a mutiny in the garrison. He was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by Elizabeth's order, expressly contrary to his capitulation with Drury, and condemned by Morton to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh. Maitland of Lethington, who had taken part with Kirkaldy, and could not expect to be treated more favourably, prevented the ignominy of a public execution by a voluntary death. "He ended his days," says Melvil, "after the old Roman fashion!" and Scotland, submitting entirely to the regent's authority, gave no farther inquietude, for many years, to the English queen⁴¹.

The events on the continent were not so favourable to the interests, or agreeable to the inclinations, of Elizabeth. After the negotiation for a marriage between the English queen and the duke of Anjou was finally broken off, a defensive alliance had been concluded between France and England. Charles considered this treaty not only as the best artifice for blinding the Protestants, the conspiracy against whom was now almost ripe for execution, but also a good precaution against the dangerous consequences to which that atrocious measure might expose him. Elizabeth who, notwithstanding her penetration and experience, was the dupe of the French king's hypocrisy, regarded it as an invincible barrier against the enemies of her

⁴¹ Melvil.—Camden.—Strype.

throne, and as one of the chief pillars of the security of the Protestant cause. Even the leaders of the Huguenots, though so often deceived, gave credit to the treacherous promises and professions of the court; and Charles, to complete that fatal confidence into which he had lulled them by his insidious caresses, offered his sister Margaret in marriage to the young king of Navarre⁴².

The admiral de Coligny, the prince of Condé, and all the most considerable men of the Protestant party, went cheerfully to Paris, to assist at the celebration of that marriage; which, it was hoped, would finally appease the religious animosities. Coligny was wounded by a shot from a window, a few days after the marriage; yet the court still found means to quiet the suspicions of the Huguenots, till the eve of St. Bartholomew, when a massacre commenced to which there Aug. 24. is nothing parallel in the history of mankind, either for the dissimulation that led to it, or the deliberate cruelty and barbarity with which it was perpetrated. The Protestants, as a body, were devoted to destruction; the young king of Navarre and the prince of Condé only being exempted from the general doom, on condition that they should change their religion. Charles, accompanied by his mother, beheld from a window of his palace this horrid massacre, which was chiefly conducted by the duke of Guise. The royal guards were ordered to be under arms at the close of day: the ringing of a bell was the signal; and the Catholic citizens, who had been secretly prepared by their leaders for such a scene, zealously seconded the rage of the soldiery, imbruing their hands, without remorse, in the blood of their neighbours, of their companions, and even of their relations; the king himself inciting their fury, by firing upon the fugitives, and frequently crying "Kill, kill!"—Persons of every condition, age, and sex, suspected of adhering to the reformed opinions, were involved in one undistinguished ruin. About five hundred gentlemen, among whom were Coligny, and many other heads of the Protestant party, were murdered in Paris alone; and nearly ten thousand persons of inferior condition. The same barbarous orders were sent to all the provinces of the kingdom; and a like carnage ensued at Rouen, Lyons, Orleans, and several other cities⁴³. Sixty thousand Protestants are supposed to have been massacred in different parts of France.

As an apology for this atrocious perfidy, and inhuman butchery, Charles pretended that a conspiracy of the Huguenots to seize his person had been suddenly detected, and that he had been constrained, for his own safety, to proceed to extremities

⁴² Davila.—Digges.—Mezeray.

⁴³ Davila, lib. v.—Daniel, tome iv.—Mezeray, tome v.

against them. The parliament accordingly ordered an annual procession, on St. Bartholomew's day, in commemoration of the deliverance of the kingdom; and a medal was struck in honour of the same event, with this inscription (which seems to bear a farther meaning) on one side, accompanied with the royal arms; *PIETAS excitavit JUSTITIAM*; "*PIETY roused JUSTICE.*" On the other side, Charles is seated on a throne with the sword of justice in his right hand, and the balance in his left, with a group of heads under his feet, surrounded by these words: *Virtus in Rebelles*; "*Courage in punishing Rebels*⁴⁴."

At Rome, and in Spain, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which no popish writer of the present age mentions without detestation, was the subject of public rejoicings; and solemn thanks were returned to God for its success, under the name of the *Triumph of the Church Militant*! Among the Protestants it excited extreme horror; a striking picture of which is drawn by Fenelon, the French ambassador at the court of England, in his account of his first audience after that barbarous transaction.—“A gloomy sorrow,” says he, “sat on every face; silence, as in the dead of night, reigned through all the chambers of the royal palace: the ladies and courtiers, clad in deep mourning were ranged on each side: and as I passed by them, in my approach to the queen, not one bestowed on me a favourable look, or made the least return to my salutations⁴⁵.”

The English nobility and gentry were roused to such a pitch of resentment, by the cruelty and perfidy of the French court, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thousand foot and four thousand horse; to transport them into France, and to maintain them for six months at their own expense. But Elizabeth, cautious in all her measures, moderated the zeal of her subjects. She was aware of the dangerous situation in which she now stood, as the head and protectress of the Protestant body, and afraid to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions, by a hazardous crusade; she therefore judged it prudent, not only to refuse her consent to the projected invasion, but to listen to the professions of friendship still made to her by the French monarch. In the mean time she prepared herself against that attack which seemed to threaten her from the combined force and violence of Charles and Philip; two princes as nearly allied in perfidy and barbarity as in bigotry, and whose machinations she had reason to dread as soon as they had quelled their domestic disturbances. She fortified Portsmouth; put her fleet in order; exercised her militia; and renewed her alli-

⁴⁴ Duplex.—Le Gendre.—Mezeray.

⁴⁵ Carte, from Fenelon's Despatches.

ance with the German princes, who were no less alarmed than herself at the treacherous and sanguinary proceedings of the Catholic powers⁴⁶.

But Elizabeth's greatest security against the attempts of those princes was the obstinate resistance made by the Protestants in France and the Low Countries. The massacre, instead of annihilating the Huguenots, only rendered them more formidable. Animated by the most ardent spirit of civil and religious liberty, inflamed by vengeance and despair, they assembled in large bodies, or crowded into the cities and fortresses in the possession of their party; and finding that they could repose no faith in capitulations, nor expect any clemency from the court, they determined to defend themselves with the greatest obstinacy. After one of the most gallant defences recorded in history, the town of Sancerre was obliged to surrender; but the inhabitants obtained liberty of conscience. Rochelle, before which in a manner was assembled the whole force of France, A. D. 1573. sustained a siege of eight months. During that siege the citizens repelled nine general and twenty particular assaults, and obliged the duke of Anjou, who conducted the attack, and lost twenty-four thousand men in the course of his operations, to grant them an advantageous peace⁴⁷. Thus ended the fourth civil war, by a treaty which the court did not intend to observe, and to which the Protestants never trusted.

The miseries of France increased every day; Charles grew jealous of his brothers; and many of the most considerable men among the Catholics, displeased with the measures of the court, favoured the progress of the Huguenots. All things tended to confusion. In the midst of these disorders, the king died of a distemper so extraordinary, that May 30, 1574. it was considered by the Protestants as a visible stroke of divine vengeance. The blood exuded from every pore of his body. Though the author of so many atrocious crimes, he was not twenty-four years of age; and that unusual mixture of ferocity and dissimulation which distinguished his character, threatened still greater mischiefs both to his native country and to Europe⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ Camden.—Digges.

⁴⁷ Davila, lib. v.—Mezeray, tome v.

⁴⁸ The character of Charles IX., as might be expected, has been very differently drawn by the contemporary historians of the two religions. And an attempt has lately been made by an ingenious writer, who affects liberality of sentiment, to vindicate that prince from what he considers as the calumnies of the Protestants. In prosecution of this design, the gentleman who has undertaken to *whitewash* the author of the massacre of Paris, endeavours to show, by a display of the elegant qualities of Charles, his taste for the polite arts, and his talent for making verses, that his mind was naturally sound and generous, but corrupted by a pernicious system of policy, and enslaved by the machinations of his mother, Catharine of Medici. As much might be said in favour of Nero, and with greater justice.

But this writer, in attempting to confound our ideas of virtue and vice, has happily furnished us with an antidote to his own poison. He owns, that some weeks after the massacre had ceased, Charles was not only present at the execution of two Huguenot gentlemen who

As he left no male issue, he was succeeded by his brother, the duke of Anjou, lately elected king of Poland.

But before we carry farther the account of the civil wars of France, or resume the history of those in the Low Countries, I must turn your eye, my dear Philip, back to the affairs of the empire, Spain, Italy, and Turkey.

had escaped the general slaughter, "but so desirous of *enjoying* the sight of their last agonies, that, as it was *night* before they were conducted to the gibbet, he commanded torches to be held up to the faces of the criminals." (*Hist. of the Kings of France of the race of Valois*, vol. ii.) And the authors who attest this fact have left as many others of a similar kind; so many, indeed, as are sufficient to induce us to suppose that the bigotry and cruelty of Charles were equal to the execution of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, without the instigation of his mother. One anecdote deserves particular notice. When the prince of Condé hesitated in renouncing his religion, the king exclaimed in a furious tone, accompanied with a menacing look, "DEATH, MASS, or the BASTILE!" Davila, lib. v.—Mezeray, tome v.

LETTER LXX.

History of Germany, from the Resignation of Charles V. in 1556, to the death of Maximilian II. in 1576, with some Account of the Affairs of Spain, Italy, and Turkey, during that Period.

CHARLES V., as we have already seen, was succeeded on the imperial throne by Ferdinand I., the beginning of whose A. D. 1557. reign was distinguished by the diet of Ratisbon, which confirmed the peace of religion by reconciling the house of Hesse to that of Nassau¹.

Pius IV. was raised to the papacy in 1559. Less obstinate than his predecessor Paul, he confirmed the imperial dignity to Ferdinand. He also issued a bull for re-assembling the council of Trent, the most memorable occurrence under the reign of this emperor.

On the publication of that bull, the Protestant princes assembled at Naumburg in Saxony, and came to a resolution of adhering to the confession of Augsburg, whatever should be determined in the council of Trent. Meanwhile,

¹ Heiss, liv. iii.

Ferdinand issued orders for convoking a diet at Frankfort, where he acted with such address, that his son Maximilian, who already filled the throne of Bohemia, was elected king of the Romans, with the unanimous consent A.D. 1562. of the Germanic body. The emperor also endeavoured, on this occasion, but in vain, to persuade the Protestants to submit to the general council. They continued unshaken in their resolution of rejecting its decrees. The pope, they maintained, had no right to convoke such an assembly; that prerogative belonging to the emperor alone, to whom, as their sovereign, they were at all times willing to explain themselves on any subject, either civil or religious.

Finding the Protestants obstinate in denying the authority of the council of Trent, Ferdinand resolved to pursue another method of uniting them to the church. For that purpose, he presented a remonstrance to the fathers of the council, exhorting them to attempt a reformation of manners among the Romish clergy, in order to remove those abuses of which the Protestants so justly complained. But the pope, affirming that such reformation was his peculiar province, would not allow the council to take cognizance of the subject. The emperor was also disappointed in a demand which he made, that the council should permit the communion both with and without the cup, among the laity, and the marriage of priests in the imperial dominions. His holiness would consent to neither of these requests².

This famous council, which had been so often suspended and renewed, and which proved the last assembly of the kind, was finally dissolved in December 1563. Its A.D. 1563. decrees, like those of all other general councils, were calculated to exalt the church above the civil power: but being little suited to the spirit of the times, they were rejected by some Catholic princes, coldly received by others, and deservedly turned into ridicule by the reformers³. The declared object of the council of Trent, in this meeting, was the reformation of the church, by which means only a reconciliation with the Protestants could have been effected. Instead, however, of confining themselves to theological errors, or attempting to eradicate ecclesiastical abuses, the reverend fathers extended their deliberations to the *reformation* of princes, and composed thirteen articles for exalting the priesthood at the expense of the royal prerogative⁴.

The emperor died soon after the dissolution of July 25, 1564. the council of Trent, and was succeeded by Maximilian II., who, in the beginning of his reign, was obliged to

² Thuan. lib. xxviii.—Barre, tome ix.

³ Thuan.—Paolo Sarpi.

⁴ Thuan.—Paolo Sarpi.

engage in a war against the Turks. Solyman II., whose valour and ambition had been so long terrible to Christendom, though now unfit for the field, continued to make war by his generals. He had even projected, it is said, the conquest of the German empire. The affairs of Transylvania furnished him with a pretext for taking arms. John Sigismund, prince of that country, having assumed the title of king of Hungary, and put himself under the protection of the grand signior, Maximilian sent an army against him under the command of Lazarus Schuendi. The imperial general took Tokay, and would soon have reduced all Transylvania, had not Solyman despatched an ambassador A. D. 1565. to the imperial court, to negotiate on behalf of his vassal. By this envoy matters were seemingly accommodated⁵.

The soltan, however, had not laid aside his ambitious projects, nor the emperor his suspicions. While Maximilian convoked a diet at Augsburg, for regulating the domestic affairs of the empire, and securing it against the Turks, Solyman sent a fleet and army to reduce the island of Malta; whence he hoped to drive the knights of St. John, whom he formerly expelled from Rhodes, and who still continued, according to the maxims of their order, to annoy the infidels. But the rock of Malta proved fatal to Solyman's glory. His general, Mustapha, after a siege of almost five months, and the loss of twenty-four thousand men, was obliged to abandon the enterprise. La Valette, grand-master of Malta, and the whole body of knights, signalled themselves wonderfully on that occasion; but as the Turks were continually reinforced, he must at last have been obliged to surrender the island, if Don Garcia, governor of Sicily, had not come to its relief with twelve thousand men⁶.

Solyman, in revenge of this disappointment and disgrace, the A. D. 1566. greatest he had ever suffered, sent a fleet to reduce the island of Scio, and ravage the coast of Italy. And having invaded Hungary with a powerful army, he invested Sigeth, then the bulwark of Stiria, against the Turks. It had a garrison of two thousand three hundred men, under the brave count Zerini, who defended it long, with incredible valour, against the whole force of the soltan. Maximilian remained in the neighbourhood, with an army not inferior to that of the besiegers, without daring to attempt its relief. At length, all the works being destroyed, and the magazines set on fire by the enemy, Zerini sallied out, at the head of three hundred chosen men, and died gallantly with his sword in his hand⁷.

⁵ Thuan. lib. xxxvii.

⁶ Vertot, Hist. des Chev. de Malth. tome iv.—Thuan. lib. xxxviii.

⁷ Heiss, liv. iii.—Barre, tome ix.—Ricaud, vol. ii.

During the siege of Sigeth, before which the Turks lost above thirty thousand men, Solyman expired in the seventy-sixth year of his age. But the emperor, being unacquainted with this circumstance, which was kept secret till after the reduction of the place, had retired toward the frontiers of Austria, as soon as informed of the fate of Zerini. Solyman was succeeded by his son Selim II., who began his reign with concluding a truce of twelve years with Maximilian^a.

In consequence of this truce, and the pacific disposition of the emperor, Germany long enjoyed repose, while all the neighbouring nations were disquieted by wars either foreign or domestic. Selim in the mean time was not idle. After attempting, but without success, to subdue the kingdom of Persia, he turned his arms against the island of Cyprus, which at that time belonged to the republic of Venice.

Pope Pius V. and the king of Spain, on the first rumour of this invasion, had entered into a league with the Venetians for the defence of Cyprus. But Nicosia, the capital, was taken by storm, before the arrival of the allied fleet; and, the commanders being afterward divided in their councils, no attempt was made for the relief of the Cypriots. Meanwhile the Turks, daily reinforced with fresh troops, had reduced all the towns in the island, except Famagosta. That city, after a most gallant and obstinate defence, was obliged to capitulate; and Mustapha, the Turkish general, neither respecting courage in an enemy nor the faith of treaties, ordered Bragadino, the governor, to be flayed alive, and the companions of his heroism either to be butchered or chained to the oar^o. This conquest is said to have cost the Turks a hundred thousand lives.

The fate of Cyprus alarmed the Christian powers, at the same time that it inflamed their indignation. Charles IX. however, excused himself, on account of the distracted state of his kingdom, from entering into the league against the Turks; the emperor pleaded his truce; and the German princes were, in general, too much interested in the issue of the religious wars, in France and the Low Countries, to enlist themselves under the banner of the cross. But Philip II., whose Italian dominions were in danger, entered warmly into the cause, and engaged to bear half the expense of the armament. The Venetians fortified their city, and augmented their fleet. Pius, who was the soul of the enterprise, sent twelve galleys under the command of Mark Anthony Colonna. Venieri commanded the Venetian galleys; Doria those of Philip. The chief command was com-

^a Heiss, liv. iii.—Barre, tome ix.—Ricaut, vol. ii. ^o Thuan, lib. xlix.—Cantemir, vol. ii.

mitted to Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles V. who had lately distinguished himself in Spain, by subduing the Moriscoes, or descendants of the Moors, whom the severity of the inquisition had roused to arms.

After the reduction of Cyprus, the Turks not only ravaged with impunity the coasts of Dalmatia and Istria, but also those of Italy. Their fleet, consisting of two hundred and thirty galleys, Oct. 7. was met by the confederates in the gulf of Lepanto, near Corinth, where was fought the greatest naval engagement that modern times had seen. The force was nearly equal on both sides, and the dispute was long, fierce, and bloody. All the passions which can animate human nature were roused; and almost all the instruments of war and destruction, of ancient or modern invention, were employed; arrows, javelins, fire-balls, grappling-irons, cannon, musquets, spears and swords. The men fought hand to hand in most of the galleys, and grappled together, as on a field of battle. Ali, the Turkish admiral, surrounded by four hundred Janisaries, and Don John, with an equal number of chosen men, maintained a close contest for three hours. At last Ali was slain, and his galley taken; the banner of the cross was displayed from the mainmast, and the Ottoman admiral's head fixed on the stern, in place of the Turkish standard. All now was carnage and confusion. The cry of "Victory! Victory!" resounded through the Christian fleet, and the Turks every where gave way. They lost twenty-five thousand men in the conflict; eight thousand were taken prisoners; and fifteen thousand Christian slaves were set at liberty. Thirty Turkish galleys were sunk, twenty-five burned, one hundred and thirty taken; and if Uluzzali, who was second in command, had not retired with twenty-eight galleys, the Ottoman fleet would have been utterly destroyed. The confederates lost, on the whole, fifteen galleys, and about ten thousand men¹⁰.

This victory, which filled Constantinople with the deepest melancholy, was celebrated at Venice with the most splendid festivals. And the pope was so transported when he heard of it, that he exclaimed, in a kind of holy ecstasy, "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John!" alluding to Don John of Austria. Philip's joy was more moderate. "Don John," said he, "has been fortunate, but he ran a great risk:"—and that risk, as appeared in the issue, was run merely for glory.

The battle of Lepanto, though purchased with so much blood, and so ruinous to the vanquished, was of no real benefit to the victors. After disputing long what they should do, the Christian commanders resolved to do nothing till the spring. That

¹⁰ Feuillet, Vie du Pape Pie. V.—Thuan.—Cantemir.

season, which ought to have been employed in taking advantage of the enemy's consternation, was wasted in fruitless negotiations and vain-glorious triumphs. The Turks had leisure, during the winter, to equip a new fleet, which spread A. D. 1572. terror over the coast of Christendom, before the confederates were ready to assemble; and by the bravery and conduct of Uluzzali, now appointed commander-in-chief, the reputation of the Ottoman arms was restored. The confederates were able to effect no enterprise of importance. Their councils were again divided: they separated. The Spaniards appeared cool in the cause; and the Venetians, afraid of being left a prey to the Turkish power, secretly concluded a peace A. D. 1573. with the soltan. They not only agreed that Selim should retain Cyprus, but ceded to him several other places, and stipulated to pay him thirty thousand crowns in gold toward defraying the expenses of the war¹¹.

The pope was greatly incensed at this treaty, which was certainly dishonourable to Christendom. But Philip, whose attention was now chiefly engaged by the civil wars in the Low Countries, readily sustained the apology of the Venetians. It was but reasonable, he said, that the republic should be permitted to know her own interest: for his part, it was sufficient that he had given proofs of his friendship to Venice, and of his zeal for the support of the Christian religion¹².

Don John, however, was far from being pleased with the conduct of the Venetians. After separating from the confederates, he had made himself master of Tunis, where he proposed to erect an independent sovereignty; and he hoped in the next season, by means of the league, utterly to ruin the soltan's naval power, which he foresaw would be employed to recover that city and its territory. This conjecture was soon verified. Three hundred galleys, with forty thousand soldiers on board, A. D. 1574. were sent in the spring to invest Tunis; and the place, though gallantly defended, was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword, before a sufficient force could be assembled for its relief¹³.

During all these bloody transactions, the mere recital of which makes the human heart shrink from the horrors of war, Germany continued to enjoy tranquillity under the sway of Maximilian. This prince was of a mild and humane disposition, affable in his deportment, simple in his manners, and regular in his life. Though attached to peace, he was not destitute of courage or military skill; and though fond of power, he seemed to wish for it only with a view of promoting the happiness of his people.

11 Parma.—Ferrerias.

12 Miniana, lib. vii.

13 Cantemir.—Ricaut.—Ferrerias.

For some years before his death, he exerted his interest to procure the crown of Poland for one of his sons, not only on the vacancy occasioned by the death of Sigismund II. but also when the retreat of Henry of Anjou had again involved the country in the confusions of a disputed election. He had not, however, sufficient influence to obtain a complete acquiescence in his wishes; and the low state of his finances still farther obstructed his views. He had expressed an intention of supporting his election (for he was actually chosen by a party in the diet) by force of arms; but he would in all probability have soon relinquished his pretensions in favour of Stephen, the new king, even if he had not died in Oct. 12, 1576. the midst of his preparations. He was succeeded on the imperial throne by his son Rodolph II., a prince who inherited the pacific disposition of his father.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to new scenes of slaughter; to behold Christians and fellow-citizens exercising on each other as great barbarities as ever were inflicted upon the followers of Christ by those of the Arabian pseudo prophet.

LETTER LXXI.

A General View of the Transactions of Europe, from the Death of Charles IX. in 1574, to the Accession of Henry IV. the first King of France of the Branch of Bourbon, in 1589; including the Rise of the Republic of Holland, the Catastrophe of Sebastian King of Portugal, the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

A PARTICULAR detail of the memorable events of this period would rather perplex the memory than inform the judgment. I shall therefore, my dear Philip, content myself with offering you a general survey. Consequences are chiefly to be noted.

The death of Charles IX., though the subject of rejoicing among the Huguenots, was far from healing the wounds of France, yet bleeding from the late massacres. The duke of Anjou, who succeeded him under the name of Henry III., and who, as I have already observed, had been elected king of Poland, whence he eloped with the secrecy of a felon, found the kingdom in the greatest disorder imaginable.—The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which

they had committed or suffered. Each party had devoted itself to leaders, whose commands had greater effect than the will of the sovereign ; even the Catholics, to whom the king was attached, being entirely guided by the councils of the duke of Guise and his family.

Henry, by the advice of the queen-mother, who had governed the kingdom till his arrival, formed a scheme for the restoration of the royal authority, by acting as umpire between the parties ; by moderating their differences, and reducing both to a dependence upon himself. He possessed all the dissimulation necessary for the execution of this delicate plan ; but being deficient in vigour, application, and sound understanding, instead of acquiring a superiority over both factions, he lost the confidence of both, and taught the partisans of each to adhere more closely to their respective leaders.

Meanwhile the Huguenots were not only strengthened by the accession of Francis duke of Anjou, the king's brother (late duke of Alençon), and by the arrival of a German A. D. 1575. army under the prince of Condé, but by the presence of the gallant king of Navarre, who had also made his escape from court, and placed himself at their head. Henry, in prosecution of his moderating scheme, entered into a treaty with them ; and, desirous of preserving a balance A. D. 1576. between the factions, granted peace to the Protestants on the most advantageous conditions. They obtained the public exercise of their religion, except within two leagues of the court ; party-chambers, consisting of an equal number of Protestants and Catholics, were erected in all the parliaments of the kingdom, for the more equitable administration of justice ; all attainders were reversed, and eight cautionary towns were put into their hands.

This treaty of pacification, which was the fifth concluded with the Huguenots, gave extreme disgust to the Catholics, and afforded the duke of Guise the desired pretence of declaiming against the conduct of the king, and of laying the foundation of the famous LEAGUE, projected by his uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine ; an association which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the new doctrines. In order to divert the force of the league from the throne, and even to obstruct its efforts against the Huguenots, Henry declared himself the head of that A. D. 1577. seditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Catholics ; but his dilatory and feeble measures discovered his reluctance to the undertaking, and some unsuccessful enterprises brought on a new peace, which, though less favourable than the

former to the Protestants, gave no satisfaction to the followers of the ancient religion. The animosity of party, daily whetted by theological controversy, was now too keen to admit toleration: the king's moderation appeared criminal to one faction, and suspicious to both: while the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the duke of Guise on one side, and of the king of Navarre on the other, engaged by degrees the bulk of the nation to enlist under one or the other of those great leaders. Religious hatred produced a contempt of all civil regulations; and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel².

These commotions, though of a domestic nature, were too important to be overlooked by foreign princes. Queen Elizabeth, who always considered her interests as connected with the prosperity of the French Protestants, and the depression of the house of Guise, had repeatedly supplied the Huguenots with considerable sums of money, notwithstanding her negotiations with the court of France. Philip II. on the other hand, had declared himself protector of the League, had entered into the closest correspondence with the duke of Guise, and employed all his authority in supporting the credit of that factious leader. The subjection of the Huguenots, he flattered himself, would be followed by the submission of the Flemings; and the same political motives which induced Elizabeth to assist the French reformers, would have led her to aid the distressed Protestants in the Low Countries: but the mighty power of Philip, and the great force which he maintained in those mutinous provinces, had hitherto kept her in awe, and induced her to preserve some appearance of friendship with that monarch.

Elizabeth, however, had given protection to all the Flemish exiles who took shelter in her dominions: and, as many of these were the most skilful and industrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, then so celebrated for manufactures, they brought with them several useful arts, hitherto unknown or little cultivated, in England. The queen had also permitted the Flemish privateers to enter the English harbours, and there dispose of their prizes. But, on the remonstrance of the Spanish ambassador, she withdrew that liberty³; a measure which, in the issue, proved extremely prejudicial to the interests of Philip, and which naturally leads us back to the history of the civil wars in the Low Countries.

The Gueux, or *beggars*, as the Flemish sea-adventurers were called, being shut out from the English harbours, were under the necessity of attempting to secure one of their own. They accordingly attacked, in 1572, the Brille, a sea-port in Holland; and, by a furious assault, made themselves masters of the place⁴.

2 Thuan.—Davila.

3 Camd. Annales.

4 Grotii. Annales, lib. ii.

Unimportant as this conquest may seem, it alarmed the duke of Alva; who, putting a stop to those bloody executions which he was making on the defenceless Flemings in order to enforce his oppressive taxes, withdrew the garrison from Brussels and detached it against the Gueux. Experience soon proved that his fears were well grounded. The people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, rendered desperate by that complication of cruelty, oppression, insolence, usurpation, and persecution, under which they and all their countrymen laboured, flew to arms on the approach of a military force; defeated the Spanish detachment, and put themselves under the protection of the prince of Orange; who, though unsuccessful in his former attempt, still meditated the relief of the Netherlands. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal, resentment, or love of freedom, could inspire. In a short time almost the whole province of Holland, and also that of Zealand, threw off the Spanish yoke⁵; and the prince, by uniting the revolted towns in a league, laid the foundation of that illustrious republic; whose arms and policy long made so considerable a figure in the transactions of Europe, and whose commerce, frugality, and persevering industry, are still the wonder of the world.

The love of liberty transformed into heroes men little accustomed to arms, and naturally averse from war. The prince of Orange took Mechlin, Oudenarde, and Dendermonde; and the desperate defence of Haarlem, which nothing but the extremity of famine could overcome, convinced the duke of Alva of the pernicious effects of his violent counsels. He entreated the Hollanders, whom his severities had only exasperated, to lay down their arms, and rely on the king's generosity; and he gave the strongest assurances, that the utmost lenity would be shown to those who did not obstinately persist in their rebellion. But the people were not disposed to confide in promises so often violated, or to throw themselves on the clemency of a prince and governor who were known to be equally perfidious and inhuman. Now reduced to despair, they expected the worst that could happen, and bade defiance to fortune. The duke, enraged at their firmness, laid siege to Alcmaer, where his men were repulsed; a great fleet which he had fitted out was defeated by the Zealanders: he petitioned to be recalled from his government, and boasted at his departure, that in the course of five years he had consigned eighteen thousand individuals to the hands of the public executioner⁶.

Alva was succeeded in the Low Countries by Requesens, commendator of Castile, who began his government with pulling down the insulting statue of his predecessor erected at Antwerp.

⁵ Le Clerc.—Temple.—Grot. Annales.

⁶ Grot. Ann. lib. ii.

But neither this popular act nor the mild disposition of the new governor could reconcile the Hollanders to the Spanish dominion. Their injuries were too recent and too grievous to be soon forgotten. The war was continued with obstinacy. The success was various. Middleburgh was taken by the revolvers in 1574, while Louis of Nassau, with a considerable body of troops, intended as a reinforcement to his brother, the prince of Orange, was surprised near a village called Noock, and his army defeated. He and one of his brothers were left dead on the field of battle. Leyden was invested by the Spaniards; and the most amazing examples of valour and constancy were displayed on both sides during the siege. The Dutch opened the dykes and sluices, in order to drive the besiegers from that enterprise; and the Spaniards had the hardiness to continue their purpose, and to attempt to drain off the inundation. The besieged suffered every species of misery, and were at last so reduced by famine, as to be obliged to feed on the dead bodies of their fellow-citizens. But they did not suffer in vain. A violent south-west wind drove the inundation with fury against the works of the besiegers, when every human hope seemed to fail; and Valdez, the Spanish general, in danger of being swallowed up by the waves, was constrained to raise the siege, after having lost the flower of his army⁷.

The repulse at Leyden was followed, in 1575, by the conferences at Breda. There the emperor endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation between the king of Spain and the states of the Low Countries, originally subject to the empire, and over which its jurisdiction was still supreme. But these negotiations proving unsuccessful, hostilities were renewed, and pushed with vigour by the Spaniards. They met with a proportional resistance in many places; particularly at Woerden, the reduction of which they were obliged to abandon, after a siege of several months, and a great loss of men.

But the contest was unequal, between a great monarchy and two small provinces, however fortified by nature, or defended by the desperate valour of the inhabitants. The Spaniards made themselves masters of the island of Finart, east of Zealand; they entered Zealand itself, in spite of all opposition; they reduced Ziriczee, after an obstinate resistance; and, as a last blow, were projecting the reduction of Holland⁸.

Now it was that the revolted provinces saw the necessity of foreign assistance, in order to preserve them from final ruin; and they sent a solemn embassy to Elizabeth, their most natural ally, offering her the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, if she would employ her power in their defence. But that prin-

⁷ Meteren.—Bentivoglio.—Le Clerc.

⁸ Bentivoglio.—Le Clerc

cess, though inclined by many strong motives to accept so liberal an offer, prudently rejected it. Though magnanimous, she had never cherished the ambition of making conquests, or of acquiring, by any other means, an accession of territory. The sole purpose of her vigilant and active policy was to maintain, by the most frugal and cautious expedients, the tranquillity of her own dominions. An open war with the Spanish monarchy appeared the probable consequence of supporting the revolted provinces; and after taking the inhabitants under her protection, she could never in honour abandon them; how desperate soever their defence might become, but must embrace it even in opposition to her interest. The possession of Holland and Zealand, though highly inviting to a commercial nation, did not seem equivalent to such hazard. The queen, therefore, refused in positive terms the offered sovereignty; but informed the ambassadors, that, in return for the good-will which the prince of Orange and the states had shown her, she would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the best terms possible. She accordingly despatched Sir Henry Cobham to Philip, who took her mediation in good part; but no accommodation ensued⁹. The war in the Netherlands was carried on with the same rage and violence as before, when an accident saved the infant republic.

Requesens dying suddenly at a time when large arrears were due to the Spanish troops, they broke into a furious mutiny, in 1576; attacked and pillaged the wealthy city of Antwerp, executing terrible slaughter on the inhabitants, and threatened other towns with a like fate. This danger united all the provinces, except Luxemburgh, in a confederacy commonly called the Pacification of Ghent, which had for its object the expulsion of foreign troops, and the restoration of the ancient liberties of the states¹⁰.

Don John of Austria, who had been appointed to succeed Requesens, found every thing in confusion on his arrival in the Low Countries. He saw the impossibility of resistance, and agreed to whatever was required of him;—to confirm the pacification of Ghent, and dismiss the Spanish army. After these concessions he was acknowledged governor, and the king's lieutenant of the Netherlands. Peace and concord were restored, industry renewed, and religious disputes silenced; liberty had leisure to breathe, commerce began to lift her head, and the arts again to dispense their blessings.

But the ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for the exercise of his military talents, lighted anew the torch of

⁹ Camd. Ann.¹⁰ Bentiv. lib. ix.—Thuan. lib. lxii.

discord and the flames of civil war. As he found the states determined to impose very strict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles ; seized Namur, and procured the recal of the Spanish army. Animated by the successes of his youth, he had opened his mind to vast undertakings ; and, looking beyond the conquest of the revolted provinces, had projected a marriage with the queen of Scots, and (in her right) the acquisition of both the British kingdoms. Elizabeth was aware of his intentions, and no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, whose independence seemed now intimately

A. D. 1578. connected with her own safety. She accordingly entered into an alliance with them ; sent them a sum of money ; and, soon after, a body of troops¹¹. Casimir, count palatine of the Rhine, also engaged to support them, and collected for that purpose an army of German Protestants.

But the people of the Netherlands, while they were strengthening themselves by foreign alliances, were weakened by dissensions at home. The duke d'Arschot, governor of Flanders, and several other Catholic noblemen, jealous of the prince of Orange, who, on the return of the Spanish forces, had been elected governor of Brabant, privately invited the archduke Matthias, brother of the emperor Rodolph II., to the government of the Low Countries. Matthias accepted the proposal ; quitted Prague in the night ; and suddenly arrived in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, to the astonishment of the states. Swayed by maxims of true policy and patriotism, the prince of Orange embraced the interest of the archduke ; and, by that prudent measure, divided the German and Spanish branches of the house of Austria. Don John was deposed by a decree of the States ; Matthias was appointed governor-general of the provinces, and the prince of Orange his lieutenant, to the great mortification of d'Arschot¹².

Being joined by Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, with eighteen thousand veterans, Don John attacked the army of the states near Gemblours, and gained a considerable advantage over them. But the cause of liberty sustained a much greater misfortune in that jealousy which arose between the Protestant and Catholic provinces. The prince of Orange, by reason of his moderation, became suspected by both parties ; Matthias, receiving no support from Germany, fell into contempt ; and the duke of Anjou, through the prevalence of the Catholic interest, was declared *Defender of the Liberties of the Netherlands*¹³.

Don John took advantage of these fluctuating counsels to push his military operations, and made himself master of several places. But he was so warmly received by the English auxiliaries at Rimenant, that he was obliged to give ground ; and

¹¹ Camd. Ann. ¹² Le Clerc, lib. iii. ¹³ Grot. Ann. lib. iii.—Meteren, lib. x

seeing little hope of future success, on account of the number of troops assembled against him, under Casimir (who was paid by Elizabeth) and the duke of Anjou, he is supposed to have died of chagrin; others say, of poison given him by order of Philip, who dreaded his ambition. He was succeeded by the prince of Parma, who was superior to him both in war and negotiation, and whose address and clemency gave a new turn to the affairs of Spain in the Netherlands.

The allies, in the mean while, spent their time in quarrelling, instead of acting. Neither the army of prince Casimir nor that of the duke of Anjou proved of any use to the states. The Catholics were jealous of the first, the Protestants of the last; and the two leaders were jealous of each other. Those evils induced the prince of Orange to form the scheme of more closely uniting the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and cementing them with such others as were most contiguous; Utrecht, Friseland, Groningen, Overijssel, and Guelderland, in which the Protestant interest predominated. The deputies accordingly met at Utrecht, and signed the famous Jan. 15, 1579.

Union, in appearance so slight, but in reality so solid, of seven provinces independent of each other, actuated by different interests, yet as closely connected by the great tie of liberty, as the bundle of arrows, the arms and emblem of their republic.

It was agreed that the Seven Provinces should unite themselves in interest as one province, reserving to each individual province and city all its own privileges, rights, customs, and statutes; that, in all disputes between particular provinces, the rest should interpose only as mediators; and that they should assist each other with life and fortune, against every foreign attempt upon any single province¹⁴. The first coin struck after this alliance was strongly expressive of the perilous situation of the infant commonwealth. It represented a ship struggling amid the waves, unassisted by sails or oars, with this motto: *Incertum quo fata ferant*; "I know not what may be my fate."

The states had indeed great reason for doubt. They had to contend with the whole power of the Spanish monarchy; and Philip, instead of offering them any equitable conditions, laboured to detach the prince of Orange from the Union of Utrecht. But William was too patriotic to resign the interests of his country for any private advantage. He was determined to share the fate of the United Provinces; and they required all his support. The prince of Parma was making rapid progress both by his arts and arms. He had concluded a treaty with the Walloons, a name commonly given to the natives of the southern provinces

of the Netherlands: he gained the confidence of the Catholic party in general, and took many towns from the revolvers. The states, however, continued resolute, though sensible of their weakness. They again made an offer of their sovereignty to Elizabeth; and, as she still rejected it, they conferred it on the duke of Anjou, finally withdrawing their allegiance from Philip¹⁵.

While Philip was losing the Seven United Provinces, fortune threw in his way a new sovereignty. Sebastian, king of Portugal, great grandson of the illustrious Emanuel, inflamed with the passion for military glory, resolved to signalise himself by an expedition against the Moors. He espoused the cause of Muley Mohammed, whom Muley Moluch, his uncle, had dispossessed of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco; and disregarding the opinions of his wisest counsellors, embarked for Africa, in 1578, with an army of twenty thousand men. The army of Muley Moluch was superior; but that circumstance only roused the courage of Sebastian, who even wore green armour that he might be the better mark for the enemy. The two armies engaged near Alcazar-quivir; and, after a desperate conflict, all the Christians were either killed or taken prisoners. Sebastian himself was among the slain. The two Moorish princes, uncle and nephew, were left dead on the field¹⁶.

The king of Portugal, having left no issue, was succeeded by his great uncle, cardinal Henry; who also dying without children, a number of competitors arose for the crown. Among these were the king of Spain, the duke of Braganza, Antonio, prior of Crato, the duke of Savoy, Catharine of Medicis, and Pope Gregory XIII., who, extraordinary as it may seem, attempted to renew the obsolete claim of the holy see to the sovereignty of Portugal. The claim of Philip, who was nephew to Henry by the mother's side, was not the best; but he had most power to support it. The old duke of Alva, who had been for some time in disgrace, like a mastiff unchained for fighting, was recalled to court, and put at the head of an army. He gained two victories over Antonio; who, of all the other competitors,

15 Grot. lib. iii.

16 H. de Mendoza.—Cabrera.—Thuan.—Muley Moluch, who appears to have been a great and generous prince, died with the most heroic magnanimity. Wasted by an inveterate disease, which the fatigue of the battle had rendered mortal, he desired his attendants to keep his death secret till the fortune of the day should be decided. Even after he had lost the use of speech, he laid his finger on his lips as a farther injunction of secrecy; and stretching himself in his litter, calmly expired in the field of victory. With regard to the manner of Don Sebastian's death, historians are by no means agreed; but all admit that he fought gallantly, and disdained to survive the defeat of his army. Some say, that he laid violent hands upon himself; others, that being disarmed and made prisoner by the victors, he was slain by a Moorish officer, who came up while the soldiers were violently disputing their right to the royal captive.—Thuan. *Hist. sui Temp.*

alone pretended to assert his title by arms. These victories decided the contest. Philip was crowned at Lisbon; and a price was set on the head of Antonio¹⁷. A. D. 1581.

A price was also set on the head of the prince of Orange, as soon as it was known in Spain that the United Provinces had withdrawn their allegiance from Philip; and an attempt was soon after made upon his life, by a man of desperate fortune, in order to obtain the reward. Now first did the states become truly sensible of the value of that great man. The joy of the Spaniards, on a false report of his death, could only be equalled by that of the Flemings when informed of his safety; yet a jealousy of liberty, and a dread of his ambition, still prevented them from appointing him their supreme governor, though every day convinced them of the imprudence, rapacity, and dangerous designs of the duke of Anjou. This young prince had at first assembled a considerable army, and driven the enemy from the siege of Cambray; but a project of marrying queen Elizabeth, whose amorous dalliances with him are somewhat unaccountable, and by no means justifiable, unless sincere, led him to waste his time in England, while the prince of Parma was making rapid progress in the Netherlands. On his return he totally lost the confidence of the states, by a rash and violent attack upon their liberties; was obliged to leave the United Provinces; retired into France; and died soon after in contempt¹⁸. A. D. 1582.

The archduke Matthias had returned to Germany, on the elevation of his rival, so that the prince of Parma and William of Nassau, the two greatest generals of the age, were now left to dispute the possession of the Netherlands, which became the chief theatre of war in Europe, and the school to which men of courage, from all nations, resorted to study the military art.

England, during these commotions, had enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity. But the prospect now began to be overcast, and Elizabeth saw the approach of danger from more than one quarter. The earl of Lenox, cousin to the young king of Scotland, and captain Stewart, afterwards earl of Arran, had found means to detach James from the English interest; and by their intrigues the earl of Morton, who during his whole regency had preserved that kingdom in strict alliance with Elizabeth, was brought to the scaffold, as an accomplice in the murder of the late king¹⁹.

17 Faria y Sousa.—Cabrera.

18 Mezeray.—Camden.—Le Clerc.

19 Spotswood.—Morton owned that Bothwell had informed him of the design against the king's life, solicited him to concur in the execution of it, and affirmed it was authorised by the queen. He at first, if we may believe his dying words, absolutely declined having any concern in such a measure; and, when afterwards urged to the same purpose, he required a warrant under the queen's hand, authorising the attempt. As no such warrant was pro-

A body of the Scottish nobility, however, dissatisfied with the administration, of Lenox and Arran, formed a conspiracy, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for seizing the person of the king at the castle of Ruthven, the seat of the earl of Gowrie; and the design, being kept secret, succeeded without any opposition. James, who was then sixteen years of age, wept when he found himself detained a prisoner; but no compassion was shown him. "Mind not his tears," said the master of Glamis:—"it is better that boys should weep than bearded men." The king was obliged to submit to the present necessity; to profess an entire acquiescence in the conduct of the conspirators, and to acknowledge the detention of his person to be an acceptable service. Arran was confined in his own house, and Lenox retired into France, where he soon after died²⁰.

But the affairs of Scotland remained not long in this situation. James made his escape from his keepers, and summoned his friends to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Montrose, and Rothes, hastened to pay their duty to their sovereign; and the leaders of the Gowrie party, unable to resist their powerful adversaries, took refuge in England. The earl of Arran was A. D. 1583. recalled to court; a new attempt to disturb the government was defeated; the earl of Gowrie was brought to the block; and severe laws were enacted against the Presbyterian clergy, who had applauded the *Raid of Ruthven*, as the late conspiracy was called²¹.

During these transactions in Scotland, the king of Spain, though he had not come to an open rupture with Elizabeth, sent, in the name of the pope, a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland, in order to retaliate for the assistance which she gave to his rebellious subjects in the Low Countries. But the invaders, though joined by many of the discontented Irish, were all cut off, except their chief officers, by lord Grey, the queen's deputy, and fifteen hundred of the rebels were hanged; a severity which gave great displeasure to Elizabeth²².

When the English ambassador at the court of Madrid complained of this invasion, he was answered by like complaints of

duced, he refused to take part in the enterprise. And as an apology for concealing this treasonable undertaking, he very plausibly urged, in his own vindication, the irresolution of Darnley, and criminal situation of Mary. "To whom," said he, "could I make the discovery? The queen was the author of the conspiracy. Darnley was such a changeling, that no secret could be safely communicated to him. Huntley and Bothwell, who bore the chief sway in the kingdom, were themselves the perpetrators of the crime." Spotswood, p. 314.—Crawford's Mem. Append. III.—Robertson, book vi.

²⁰ Melvil.—Spotswood.—Calderwood.

²¹ Spotswood.

²² Camd. Ann.

the piracies of Francis Drake ; a bold navigator, who had passed into the South Sea by the strait of Magellan, and, attacking the Spaniards in those parts where they least expected an enemy, had taken many rich prizes, and returned safely by the Cape of Good Hope, in the autumn of the year 1580. As he was the first Englishman who had circumnavigated the globe, his name became celebrated on account of so hazardous and fortunate an adventure ; and the queen, who loved valour and hoped to share in the spoil, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted a banquet from him in the ship which had performed so memorable a voyage. She caused, however, part of the booty to be restored, in order to appease the Catholic king²³.

But Elizabeth's danger from abroad might have been regarded as of small importance, had her own A. D. 1584. subjects been united at home. Unhappily that was not the case. The zeal of the Catholics, excited by constraint rather than persecution, daily threatened her with an insurrection. Not satisfied with incessant outcries against her severity towards the queen of Scots, and against the court of High Commission (an ecclesiastical tribunal, erected by the queen for taking cognizance of non-conformity, and which was certainly too arbitrary,) the Romish priests, especially in the foreign seminaries for the education of English students of the Catholic communion, endeavoured to persuade their disciples, that it would be a meritorious action to deprive her of life.

Those seminaries, founded by Philip, the pope, and the cardinal of Lorrain, in order to prevent the decay of the ancient religion in England, sent over yearly a colony of young priests, who maintained the Romish superstition in its full height of bigotry ; and who, being often detected in treasonable practices, occasioned that severity of which their sect complained. They were all under the direction of the Jesuits, an active order of regular priests established after the Reformation, when the court of Rome perceived that the lazy monks and beggarly friars, who had sufficed in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, assailed on every side by the bold and inquisitive spirit of the age, and the virulence of the persecuted Protestants. These ghostly fathers, who by the very nature of their institution were engaged to pervert learning, and who, where it could serve their pious purposes, employed it to refine away the plainest dictates of morality, persuaded Dr. William Parry, a convert to the Catholic faith, that he could not perform a more acceptable service to Heaven than to take

away the life of his sovereign. Parry, then at Milan, was confirmed in this opinion by Campeggio, the pope's nuncio, and even by the pope himself, who exhorted him to persevere, and granted him for his encouragement, a plenary indulgence, and remission of his sins. Though still agitated with doubts, he came over to England, with an intention of executing his bloody purpose. But happily his irresolution continued; and he was at last betrayed by one Nevil, of the family of Westmoreland, to whom he had communicated his scheme. Being thrown into prison, he confessed his guilt, received sentence of death, and A. D. 1585. suffered the punishment directed by the law for his treasonable conspiracy²⁴.

Such murderous attempts, the result of that bigoted spirit by which the followers of the two religions, but more especially the Catholics, were actuated, every where now appeared. About the same time that this design against the life of Elizabeth was brought to light, the prince of Orange was assassinated at Delft, by Balthazar Gerard, a desperate enthusiast, who believed himself impelled by the Divinity, as we are told by the Jesuit Strada, to commit that barbarous action. But the assassin, when put to the torture, declared, perhaps no less truly, that the reward promised by Philip, in his proscription of William, had been his principal motive²⁵.

The United Provinces, now deprived of their chief hope, were filled with sorrow and consternation: a general gloom involved their affairs; despondency appeared in every face; and anarchy reigned in their councils. The provinces of Holland and Zealand alone endeavoured to repair the loss, and to show their gratitude to William, by electing his son Maurice their stadtholder and captain-general by sea and land. The youth had not completed his eighteenth year; but such marks of genius distinguished his character as proved him worthy of the dignity to which he was raised.

In Spain it was imagined, that the death of the prince of Orange would deprive the confederates of their spirit, and of all ability to withstand the power of Philip. But when the first emotions of grief and surprise had subsided, it produced contrary effects. Rage took place of despair; and the horror of the assassination, universally attributed to the intrigues of Philip, so irritated the people, that they resolved to prosecute the war with unremitted vigour, and revenge the death of their great deliverer²⁶.

The prince of Parma, having reduced Ghent and Brussels,

²⁴ State Trials, vol. i.—Strype, vol. iii. ²⁵ Grot.—Bentiv.—Thuan.

²⁶ Grot. lib. iv.—Meteron, lib. xii.

was making preparations for the siege of Antwerp, the richest and most populous city in the Netherlands. On his approach, the citizens opened the sluices, cut down the dykes, and overflowed the neighbouring country, so as to sweep away all his magazines. Not discouraged by this loss, he diligently laboured to repair the misfortune, and cut, with extraordinary expedition, a canal from Steken to Caloo, in order to carry off the waters. He next erected that great monument of his genius, a fortified bridge across the deep and rapid river Scheld, to prevent all communication with the town by sea. The besieged attempted to burn it, or blow it up, by sending two fire-ships against it; but this scheme failing, and the besiegers daily making progress in spite of every effort to oppose them, Antwerp sent deputies to the prince, and agreed to acknowledge the sovereignty of Philip²⁷.

Domestic jealousy, no less than the valour of the Spaniards, or the conduct of their general, contributed to the fall of this flourishing city. The Hollanders, and particularly the citizens of Amsterdam, obstructed every measure proposed for the relief of Antwerp, hoping to profit by its reduction. The Protestants, it was concluded, would forsake it as soon as it fell into the hands of Philip. The conjecture proved just: Antwerp went hourly to decay; and Amsterdam, enriched by the conflux of industrious artificers and traders, became the greatest commercial city in the Netherlands.

This rivalry, however, of the citizens of Amsterdam, so singular in the annals of mankind! in seeking a problematical private advantage, at the expense of public safety, and when exposed to the most imminent danger, had almost occasioned the subjection of all the revolted provinces. The loss of Antwerp was a severe blow in the declining state of their affairs; and the only hope that remained to them arose from the prospect of foreign aid. Well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they tendered the sovereignty of their country to the king of France. But the distracted state of that monarchy obliged Henry to reject so advantageous an offer. The death of the duke of Anjou, which he expected would bring him relief, by freeing him from the intrigues of that prince, only plunged him in deeper distress. The king of Navarre, a professed Protestant, being now next heir to the crown, the duke of Guise thence took occasion to revive the Catholic league, and to urge the king, by the most violent expedients, to seek the exclusion of that gallant prince, and the extinction of the whole sect. Henry, though a zealous Catholic, disapproved such

²⁷ Meteren. lib. xii.—Grot. lib. v.—Thuan

measures : he attempted to suppress the league ; but finding his authority too weak for that purpose, he was obliged to comply with the demands of the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Bourbon, whom the duke had set up as a competitor for the succession against the king of Navarre, to declare war against the Huguenots, and countenance a faction which he regarded as more dangerous to his throne²⁸. Any interposition in favour of the distressed Protestants in the Low Countries would have drawn upon him at once the indignation of Philip, the pope, and the Catholic confederates. He was therefore under the necessity of renouncing all thoughts of the proffered sovereignty, though it opened a prospect equally flattering to his ambition and his vengeance.

The United Provinces, in this extremity, again had recourse to Elizabeth ; who, although she continued to reject their sovereignty for the reasons formerly assigned, agreed to yield them more effectual support. She concluded a new treaty with them ; in consequence of which she was put in possession of the Brille, Flushing, and the castle of Rammekens, as a security for the payment of her expenses. She knew that the step she had taken would immediately engage her in hostilities with Philip ; yet she was not alarmed at the view of the present greatness of that prince ; though such prepossessions were generally entertained concerning the force of the Spanish monarchy, that the king of Sweden, when informed that the queen of England had openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, scrupled not to say, “ She has now taken the diadem from her head, and placed it upon the point of a sword²⁹.”

But Elizabeth, though her natural disposition, cautious rather than enterprising, induced her to prefer peace, was not afraid of war ; and when she saw an evident necessity, she braved danger with magnanimity and boldness. She now prepared herself to resist, and even to assault, the whole strength of the Catholic king. The earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliaries, consisting of five thousand foot and a thousand horse ; while sir Francis Drake was dispatched with a fleet of twenty sail, and a body of land forces, to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies. This gallant seaman reduced St. Domingo, the capital of Hispaniola, Carthagená, and several other places, and returned to England with such riches, and such accounts of the Spanish weakness in the New World, as served to stimulate the nation to future enterprises³⁰.

The English arms were less successful in the Low Countries. Leicester possessed neither courage nor capacity equal to the

²⁸ Davila, lib. vii.—Mezeray, *Abrégé Chronol.* tome v.

²⁹ Camd. Ann.

³⁰ Camd. Ann.

trust reposed in him by the queen : and the states, who, from a knowledge of his influence with Elizabeth, and a desire of engaging that princess still farther in their defence, had honoured him with the title of governor and captain-general of the provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and invested him with a power almost dictatorial, soon found their confidence misplaced. He not only showed his inability to direct military operations, by suffering the prince of Parma to advance in a rapid course of conquests, but abused his authority, by an administration equally weak, wanton, cruel, and oppressive. Intoxicated with his elevation, he assumed the air of a sovereign prince ; refused the instructions of the states ; thrust into all vacant places his own worthless favourites ; excited the people to rise against the magistrates ; introduced disorder into the finances, and filled the provinces with confusion. The Dutch even suspected him of a design upon their liberties ; and Elizabeth, in order to quiet their fears, or lest an attempt should be made against the life of her favourite, commanded him to resign his government, and return home³¹. Prince Maurice was elected governor in the room of the earl of Leicester, and lord Willoughby was by the queen appointed commander-in-chief of the English forces.

In the mean time Elizabeth was occupied about more immediate dangers than those from the Spanish arms ; though Philip had already formed the most hostile designs against her, and had commenced his preparations for that famous armament denominated the Invincible Armada.—Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, instigated by a Romish priest named Ballard, engaged in a conspiracy against the life of his sovereign, as a necessary prelude to the deliverance of the queen of Scots, and the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England ; and so confident was he of success, and so meritorious did he deem his undertaking, that, in order to perpetuate the memory of it, he caused a picture to be drawn, in which he was represented standing amidst his six confederates, with a motto, expressing that their common danger was the bond of their fidelity. Happily the plot was discovered by the vigilance of secretary Walsingham ; and Babington, with the priest and twelve other conspirators, suffered death for their treasonable schemes³².

The scene that followed was new and extraordinary. On the trial of the delinquents, it appeared that the queen of Scots, who had corresponded with Babington, had encouraged him in his enterprise : and it was resolved, by Elizabeth and her ministers, to bring Mary to a public trial, as being accessory to the con-

31 *Camd.*—*Meteren.*—*Grot.*

32 *Camd. Ann.*—*Murden's State Papers.*—*State Trials*, vol. i

spiracy. Her papers were accordingly seized, her principal domestics arrested, and her two secretaries sent prisoners to London. After the necessary information had been obtained, forty commissioners and five of the judges were sent to Fotheringay-castle, where Mary was now confined, to hear and decide this great cause.

An idea so repugnant to majesty as that of an arraignment for treason, had not once entered the mind of the queen of Scots, though she no longer doubted that her destruction was determined on : nor had the strange resolution yet reached her ears, in the solitude of her prison. She received the intelligence, however, without emotion or astonishment ; and she protested in the most solemn manner, that she had never countenanced any attempt against the life of Elizabeth, at the same time that she refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of her commissioners.—“ I came into England,” said she, “ an independent sovereign, to implore the queen’s assistance, not to subject myself to her authority ; nor is my spirit so broken by past misfortunes, or so intimidated by present dangers, as to stoop to any thing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head, or that will disgrace the ancestors from whom I am descended, and the son to whom I shall leave my throne. If I must be tried, princes alone can be my peers. The subjects of the queen of England, how noble soever their birth may be, are of rank inferior to mine. Ever since my arrival in this kingdom, I have been confined as a prisoner. Its laws never afforded me protection. Let them not now be perverted in order to take away my life³³.”

Mary, however, was at last persuaded to appear before the commissioners, “ to hear and to give answer to the accusations which should be offered against her,” though she still refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court. The chancellor endeavoured to vindicate his authority, by pleading the supreme jurisdiction of the English laws over every one who resided in England : the lawyers of the crown opened the charge against her ; and the delegates, after hearing her defence, pronounced sentence of death at Westminster upon the unfortunate princess, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions³⁴.

³³ Robertson, book vii.

³⁴ *Cand. Ann.*—It is remarkable, that among the charges against Mary, she was accused, and seemingly on good grounds, of negotiating with the king of Spain, for transferring to him her claim to the English crown, and disinheriting her heretical son ; that she had even entered into a conspiracy against James ; had appointed lord Claude Hamilton regent of Scotland ; and had instigated her adherents to seize James’s person and deliver him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain ; whence he was never to be freed but on condition

The chief evidence against Mary arose from the declarations of her secretaries ; for no proof could otherwise be produced that the letters from Babington were delivered into her hands, or that any answer was returned by her direction ; and the testimony of two witnesses, even though men of character, who knew themselves exposed to all the rigours of imprisonment, torture, and death, if they refused to give any evidence which might be required of them, was by no means conclusive. In order to screen themselves they might throw the blame on her ; but they could discover nothing to her prejudice, without violating the oath of fidelity which they had taken in consequence of their office , and their perjury in one instance, rendered them unworthy of credit in another. Besides, they were not confronted with her, though she desired that they might be, and affirmed, that they would never, to her face, persist in their evidence.

But the condemnation of the queen of Scots, not justice, was the object of this unprecedented trial ; and the sentence, after many hesitations and delays, was carried into execution. Never did Mary appear so great as in the last scene of her life : she was not only tranquil, but intrepid and magnanimous. When sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, who had been excluded for some weeks from her presence, was permitted to take his last farewell, he burst into tears, bewailing the condition of a mistress whom he loved, as well as his own hard fate, in being appointed to carry into Scotland the news of such a mournful event as the catastrophe that awaited her. “ Weep not, good Melvil,” said she : “ there is at present greater cause for rejoicing. Thou shalt this day see Mary Stuart delivered from all her cares, and such an end put to her tedious sufferings as she has long expected. But witness that I die constant in my religion, firm in my fidelity towards Scotland, and unchanged in my affection to France. Commend me to my son. Tell him I have done nothing injurious to his kingdom, to his honour, or to his rights ; and God forgive all those who have thirsted, without cause, for my blood !” On ascending the scaffold, she began, with the aid of her women, to take off her veil and upper garments ; and the executioner rudely endeavouring to assist them, she gently checked him, and smiling said, “ I have not been accustomed to undress before so many spectators, or to be served by such valets !” and soon after, laid her head on the block, with calm but undaunted fortitude³⁵. A. D. 1587.
Feb. 8.

of his becoming a Catholic. See Letter to Charles Paget, May 20, 1586, in Forbes' Collect and Murden, p. 506.

³⁵ La Mort de la Reyne d'Escosse, ap. Jebb.—Camden.—Spotswood.

Such, my dear Philip, was the fate of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, and dowager of France, one of the most amiable and accomplished of her sex ; who, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England, fell a victim to the jealousy and to the fears of an offended rival. But although Mary's trial was illegal, and her execution arbitrary, history will not permit us to suppose that her actions were at no time criminal. With all the ornaments both of body and mind, which can embellish the female character, she had many of the weaknesses of a woman ; and our sympathy with her long and accumulated sufferings, seen through the medium of her beauty, can alone prevent us from viewing her, notwithstanding her elegant qualities, with that degree of abhorrence which is excited by the pollution of the marriage bed, and the guilt of murder⁵⁶.

Elizabeth, when informed of Mary's execution, affected the utmost surprise and concern. Sighs, tears, lamentations, and weeds of mourning, were all employed to display the greatness of her sorrow. She even undertook to make the world believe, that the queen of Scots, her dear sister and kinswoman, had been put to death without her knowledge, and against her inclination; and, to complete this farce, she commanded Davison, her secretary, to be thrown into prison, under pretence that he had exceeded his commission, in despatching the fatal warrant, which she never intended to carry into execution⁵⁷.

This hypocritical disguise was assumed chiefly to appease the young king of Scotland, who seemed determined to employ the whole force of his dominions in order to revenge his mother's death. He recalled his ambassador from England, refused to admit the English envoy into his presence, and with difficulty condescended to receive a memorial from the queen. Every thing bore the appearance of war. Many of his nobles instigated him to take up arms immediately, and the Catholics recommended an alliance with Spain. Elizabeth saw the danger

56 All contemporary authors agree in ascribing to Mary the utmost beauty of countenance and elegance of shape of which the human form is capable. Her hair was black ; though, according to the fashion of the times, she frequently wore borrowed locks, and of different colours. Her eyes were of a dark grey ; her complexion was exquisitely fine ; her hands and arms remarkably delicate, both as to shape and colour. Her stature was of a height that rose to the majestic. She danced, she walked, and rode with equal ease. Her taste for music was just ; and she sang sweetly, and played upon the lute with uncommon skill.—Robertson, from Brantome.

57 Camden.—After thus freely censuring Elizabeth, and showing the defectiveness of the evidence against Mary, I am bound to own that it appears from a passage in her letter to Thomas Morgan, dated the 27th July, 1586, that she had accepted Babington's offer to assassinate the English queen. "As to Babington," says she, "he hath kindly and honestly offered himself and all his means, to be employed any way I would. Whereupon I hope to have satisfied him by two of my several letters, since I had his." (Murden's Collect. p. 553.) This incontestable evidence puts her guilt beyond all controversy.

of such a league. After allowing James a decent interval to vent his grief and anger, she employed her emissaries to set before him every motive of hope or fear, which might induce him to live in amity with her : and these, joined to the queen's dissimulation, and the pacific disposition of that prince, prevailed over his resentment. He fell gradually into a good understanding with the court of England.

While Elizabeth was thus ensuring the tranquillity of her kingdom from the attempts of her nearest neighbour, she was not inattentive to more distant dangers. Hearing that Philip was secretly preparing that prodigious armament which had for its object the entire conquest of England, she sent sir Francis Drake with a fleet to intercept his supplies, to pillage the coasts of his dominions, and destroy his shipping : and that gallant commander, besides other advantages, was so successful as to take, sink, or burn, in the harbour of Cadiz, almost a hundred vessels laden with ammunition and naval stores. About the same time sir Thomas Cavendish, a private adventurer, launched into the South Seas in three small ships ; committed great depredations on the Spaniards in those parts ; gained some rich prizes ; and, returning by the Cape of Good Hope, entered the Thames in a kind of triumph³⁸.

By these fortunate enterprises, the English seamen learned to despise the large unwieldy ships of the enemy, in which chiefly they placed their hopes of success. The naval magazines of Spain were destroyed, and means were taken to prevent Philip from being able suddenly to repair the loss, by an artificial run upon the bank of Genoa, whence he expected a large loan—a measure which was conducted by an English merchant, in conjunction with his foreign correspondents, and does great honour to the sagacity of the English ministry³⁹. The sailing of the armada was retarded for twelve months ; and the queen thus gained leisure to take more effectual measures for obstructing its success.

Meanwhile Philip, whose resolution was finally taken, determined to execute his ambitious project with all possible force and effect. His purpose being no longer concealed, every part of his European dominions resounded with the noise of armaments, and the treasures of both Indies were exhausted in vast preparations for war. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain,

38 Monson's Naval Tracts.

39 For this anecdote relative to the bank of Genoa, we are indebted to the intriguing spirit and inquisitive disposition of bishop Burnet, who conjectures that it was thought too great a *mystery of state* to be communicated to Camden, when the materials were put into his hands for writing the history of the reign of Elizabeth. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times book ii.

and Portugal, artisans were employed in building vessels of uncommon size and force: naval stores were bought up at great expense; provisions amassed; armies levied and quartered in the maritime provinces, and plans laid for such an embarkation as had never before appeared on the ocean.

The military preparations in the Netherlands were no less formidable. Troops were every day assembling to reinforce the prince (now duke) of Parma, who employed all the carpenters he could procure, in building flat-bottomed vessels, to transport into England an army of thirty-five thousand men.

A. D. 1588. These transports were intended to join the grand armada, vainly denominated *invincible*, which was to set sail from Lisbon, and after chasing out of the way all the Flemish and English vessels, which it was supposed would make little if any resistance, to enter the Thames; to land the whole Spanish army in the neighbourhood of London, and to decide, at one blow, the fate of England,

Elizabeth was apprised of all these preparations. She had foreseen the invasion; nor was she dismayed at the aspect of that power by which all Europe apprehended she must be overwhelmed. Her force was indeed very unequal to that of Philip: all the sailors in England did not exceed fifteen thousand men: the royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail, many of which were of small size, and none exceeded the bulk of our largest frigates. But the city of London fitted out thirty vessels to reinforce this small navy; the other sea-port towns a proportional number; and the nobility and gentry hired, armed, and manned, forty-three vessels at their own charge. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was the chief commander; Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth; and a smaller squadron, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma⁴⁰.

The land forces of England were more numerous than those of the enemy, but inferior in discipline and experience. Twenty thousand men were disposed in different bodies along the south coast, with orders to retire and waste the country, if they could not prevent the Spaniards from landing; twenty-two thousand foot and a thousand horse, under the earl of Leicester, were stationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital; and thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, commanded by lord Hunsdon, were reserved for guarding the queen's person⁴¹.

These armies, even if the Spanish forces had been able to land, might have been sufficient to protect the liberties of their coun-

try. But as the fate of England, in that event, must depend on the issue of a single battle, all men of serious reflection entertained the most awful apprehensions of the shock of at least fifty thousand veterans, commanded by experienced officers, under so consummate a general as the duke of Parma. The queen alone was undaunted. She issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance, and employed every resource which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury; and, riding through the lines, discovered a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorting the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and professed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herself into the field against the enemy, and rather perish in battle than survive the ruin and slavery of her people. "I know," said she, intrepidly, "I have but the weak and feeble arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too⁴²!"

The heroic spirit of Elizabeth communicated itself to the army; and every man resolved to die rather than desert his station. Meanwhile the Spanish armada, after various obstructions, appeared in the channel. It consisted of one hundred and thirty vessels, and carried about twenty thousand soldiers. Effingham, who was informed of its approach by a Scotch pirate, saw it just as he could get out of Plymouth Sound, coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles, from the extremity of one division to that of the other. The lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, the historians of that age could not justly describe without assuming the language of poetry. Not satisfied with representing the armada as a spectacle infusing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders, and as the most magnificent that had ever appeared on the main, they assert, that, although the ships bore every sail, it yet advanced with a slow motion, as if the ocean groaned with supporting, and the winds were tired with impelling, so enormous a weight⁴³.

The English admiral at first gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards, on account of the size of their ships, and the number of soldiers on board; but a few trials convinced him that, even in close fight, the size of the Spanish ships was of no advantage to the enemy. Their bulk exposed them to the fire, while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English men of war. Every thing conspired to the ruin of this vast armament. Sir Francis Drake took the great galleon

⁴² Hume's Hist. Eng. vol. vii. note (BB).

⁴³ Camden.—Bentivoglio.

of Andalusia, and a large ship of Biscay, which had fallen behind the rest; while the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced Effingham, who filled eight of his smaller ships with combustibles, and sent them into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fled with disorder and precipitation; the English commanders fell upon them while in confusion; and, besides doing great damage to their whole fleet, took twelve ships.

It was now evident that the purpose of the armada was utterly frustrated; and the duke of Parma, whose vessels were calculated for transporting soldiers, not for fighting, refused to leave the harbour, while the English were masters of the sea. The Spanish admiral, after many unsuccessful rencounters, prepared therefore to make his way home; but, as the winds were contrary to his return through the channel, he resolved to take the circuit of the island. The English fleet followed him for some time, and had not their ammunition failed, they would have obliged the armada to surrender at discretion.

Such a conclusion of that vain-glorious enterprise would have been truly illustrious to the English; but the event was scarcely less fatal to the Spaniards. The armada was attacked by a violent storm in passing the Orkneys; and the ships having already lost their anchors, were obliged to keep at sea, while the mariners, unaccustomed to hardships, and unable to manage such unwieldy vessels, allowed them to drive on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not one half of the fleet returned to Spain, and a still smaller proportion of the soldiers and seamen: yet Philip, whose command of temper was equal to his ambition, received with an air of tranquillity the news of so humbling a disaster. "I sent my fleet," said he, "to combat the English not the elements. God be praised that the calamity is not greater⁴⁴."

While the naval power of Spain was receiving this signal blow, great changes happened in France. The Huguenots, notwithstanding the valour of the king of Navarre, who had gained at Coutras, in 1587, a complete victory over the royal army, were reduced to extremities by the power of the League; and nothing but the exorbitant ambition of the duke of Guise joined to the idolatrous admiration of the Catholics, who considered him as a Saviour, and the king as unworthy of the throne, could have preserved the reformers from utter ruin. The citizens of Paris, among whom the duke was most popular, took arms against their sovereign, and obliged him to abandon his capital at the hazard of his life; while the doctors of the Sorbonne declared, that a weak prince might be removed from the

government of his kingdom, as justly as a tutor or guardian, unfit for his office, might be deprived of his trust⁴⁵.

Henry's spirit was roused, by the dread of degradation, from that lethargy in which it had long reposed. He dissembled his resentment; negotiated with the Guise faction, and seemed outwardly reconciled, but harboured vengeance in his heart. And that vengeance was hastened by an insolent speech of the duchess of Montpensier, the duke's sister, who, showing a pair of gold scissars, which she wore at her girdle, said "The best use that I can make of them is, to clip the hair of a prince unworthy to sit on the throne of France, in order to qualify him for a cloister, that *ONE more deserving to reign* may mount it, and repair the losses which religion and the state have suffered through the weakness of his predecessor⁴⁶."

After Henry had fully taken his resolution, nine of his guards, singled out by Loignac, first gentleman of his bed-chamber, were introduced to him in his palace. He gave a poniard to each, informed them of their business, and concluded thus: "It is an execution of justice, which I command you to make on the greatest criminal in my kingdom, whom all laws, human and divine, permit me to punish; and not having the ordinary methods of justice in my power, I authorise you, by the right inherent in my royal authority, to strike the blow." They were secretly disposed in the passage which led from the king's chamber to his cabinet; and when the duke came to an audience, six poniards were at once plunged into his breast⁴⁷. He groaned and expired. Dec. 23.

"I am now a king, madam!" said Henry, entering the apartment of the queen-mother, "and have no competitor; the duke of Guise is dead." The cardinal of Guise also was despatched, a man more violent than even his brother. Among other insolent speeches, he had been heard to say, that he would hold the king's head between his knees till the tonsure should be performed at the monastery of the Capuchins⁴⁸.

These cruel executions, which necessity alone could excuse, had an effect very different from what Henry expected. The partisans of the league were inflamed with the utmost rage against him, and every where flew to arms. Rebellion was reduced to a system. The doctors of the Sorbonne had the arrogance to declare, "that the people were released from their oath of allegiance to Henry of Valois:" and the duke of Mayenne, brother to the duke of Guise, was chosen by the confederates *Lieutenant-General of the State Royal* A. D. 1589.

45 Cayet.

46 Daniel.

47 Davila.—Du Tillet.

48 Thuán. Hist.

and Crown of France; an unknown and unintelligible title, but which was meant as a substitute for sovereignty⁴⁹.

In this extremity, the king, almost abandoned by his catholic subjects, entered into an association with the Huguenots, and the king of Navarre. He enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry, and German cavalry; and being still supported by his chief nobility, and the princes of the blood, he was enabled to assemble an army of forty thousand men. With these forces the two kings advanced to the gates of Paris, and were ready to crush the league, and subdue all their enemies, when the desperate resolution of one man gave a new turn to the affairs of France.

James Clement, a Dominican friar, inflamed by that bloody spirit of bigotry which distinguished the age, and of which we have seen so many horrid examples, had embraced the pious resolution of sacrificing his own life, in order to save the church from the danger which now threatened it, in consequence of the alliance between Henry and the Huguenots; and being admitted into the king's presence, under pretence of important business, he mortally wounded that prince, while reading some supposed despatches, and was himself instantly put to death by the guards⁵⁰. This assassination left the succession open to the king of Navarre, who assumed the government under the title of Henry IV. But the reign of that great prince, and the various difficulties which he was obliged to encounter, before he could settle his kingdom, must be reserved for a future letter.

In the mean time, I cannot help observing, that the monk who had thus imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign was considered at Paris as a saint and a martyr; he was exalted above Judith, and his image was impiously placed on the altars. Even pope Sixtus V., so deservedly celebrated for his dignity of mind, as well as for the superb edifices with which he adorned Rome, was so much infected with the general contagion, that he compared Clement's enterprise to the incarnation of the World, and the resurrection of the Saviour.

This observation leads me to another. These holy assassinations, so peculiar to the period that followed the Reformation, proceeded chiefly from the fanatical application of certain passages in the Old Testament to the conjunctures of the times. Enthusiasm taught both Protestants and Catholics to consider themselves as the peculiar favourites of Heaven, and as possessing the only true religion, without allowing themselves coolly to reflect, that the adherents of each had an equal right to this vain pretension. The Protestants founded it on the purity of their principles, the Catholics on the antiquity of their church: and

⁴⁹ Mezeray.

⁵⁰ Thuan.—Davila.—Mezeray.

while impelled by their own vindictive passions, by personal animosity or party zeal, to the commission of murder, they imagined that they heard the voice of God commanding them to execute vengeance on his and their enemies.

LETTER LXXII.

The general View of Europe continued, from the Accession of Henry IV. to the Peace of Vervins, in 1598.

THE reign of Henry IV., justly styled the Great, forms one of the most memorable epochs in the history of France. The circumstances of the times, the character of the prince and of the man, conspire to render it interesting; and his connexions with other Christian powers, either as allies or enemies, make it an object of general importance. The eyes of all Europe were fixed upon him as the hero of its military theatre, and the centre of its political system. Philip and Elizabeth were now but secondary actors.

The prejudices entertained against Henry's religion induced one half of the royal army to desert him on his accession; and it was only by signing propositions favourable to their creed, and promising to listen to the arguments of their divines, that he could engage any of the Catholic nobles to support his title to the crown. The desertion of his troops obliged him to abandon the siege of Paris, and retire into Normandy. Thither he was followed by the forces of the league, commanded by the duke of Mayenne, who had proclaimed the cardinal of Bourbon king, under the name of Charles X.; although that old man, thrown into prison on the assassination of the Guises, was still in confinement¹.

In this extremity Henry had recourse to the queen of England, and found her well disposed to assist him; to oppose the progress of the league, and of the king of Spain, her dangerous and inveterate enemy, who entertained views either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. Elizabeth gratified her new ally with twenty-two thousand pounds, to prevent the desertion of his Swiss and German auxiliaries; and embarked, with all expedition, a reinforcement of four thousand men, under the command

¹ Davila, lib. x.—Mezeray, *Abregé Chronol.* tome vi.

of lord Willoughby, an officer of abilities. Meanwhile the king of France had been so fortunate as to secure Dieppe and Caen, and to repulse the duke of Mayenne, who had attacked him under the cannon of Arques. On the arrival of the English forces, he marched immediately towards Paris, to the great consternation of the inhabitants, and had almost taken the city by storm; but the duke entering it soon after with his army, Henry judged it prudent to retire.

The king's forces were still much inferior to those of the league; but the deficiency of number was compensated by valour. He attacked the duke of Mayenne at Ivry, and gained a complete victory over him, though supported by a select body of Spanish troops, detached from the Netherlands. Henry's behaviour on this occasion was truly heroic. "My lads," said he to his soldiers, "if you should lose sight of your colours, rally towards this," pointing to a large white plume which he wore in his hat:—"you will always find it in the road to honour. God is with us!" added he emphatically, drawing his sword and rushing among his foes;—but when he perceived their ranks broken, and great havoc committed in the pursuit, his natural humanity and attachment to his countrymen returned, and induced him to cry out, "Spare my French subjects!" forgetting that they were his enemies.

Soon after this victory, died the cardinal of Bourbon, and the king invested Paris. That city contained two hundred and twenty thousand souls, animated by religious enthusiasm, and Henry's army did not amount to fifteen thousand men; yet he might certainly have reduced it by famine, if not by other means, had not his paternal tenderness for his people made him forget the duty of a soldier, and relax the rigour of war. He left a free passage to the old men, women, and children; he permitted the peasants, and even his own men, to carry provisions secretly to the besieged. "I would rather never possess Paris," said he, when blamed for this indulgence, "than acquire it by the destruction of its citizens²." He feared no reproach so much as that of his own heart.

The duke of Parma, by order of the king of Spain, left the Low Countries, and hastened to the relief of Paris. On his approach Henry raised the siege, and offered him battle; but that able general, having performed the important service for

² Davila, lib. ix.—The same great historian tells us, that, when a youth who carried the royal white coronet, and a page who wore a large white plume, like that of the king, were slain, the ranks began to give way—some falling to the right, some to the left—till they recognised Henry, by his plume and his horse, combatting in the first line; they then returned to the charge, shutting themselves close together, like a wedge.

³ Daniel, tome ix.—Thuan, lib. xcix.

which he was detached, prudently declined the combat. And so great was his skill in the art of war, that he retired in the face of the enemy, without affording an opportunity of attacking him, or even of throwing his army into disorder; and reached his government, where his presence was much wanted, without sustaining any loss in those long marches. The states, however, were gainers by this expedition: prince Maurice had made rapid progress during the absence of the duke.

After the retreat of the Spaniards, Henry made some fresh attempts upon Paris, which was his grand object; but the vigilance of the citizens, particularly of the faction of Sixteen, by which it was governed, defeated all his designs; and new dangers poured in upon him from every side. When the duke of Parma retired, he left eight thousand men with the duke of Mayenne, for the support of the league; and pope Gregory XIV., at the request of the king of Spain, not only declared Henry a relapsed heretic, and ordered all the Catholics to abandon him, under pain of excommunication, but sent troops and money to join the duke of Savoy, who was already in possession of Provence, and had entered Dauphiné. About the same time the young duke of Guise made his escape from the castle of Tours, where he had been confined since the assassination of his father. All that the king said when informed of these dangers, was, "The more enemies we have, the more care we must take, and the more honour there will be in beating them⁴."

Elizabeth, who had withdrawn her troops, on the first prosperous aspect of Henry's affairs, now saw the necessity of again interposing. She sent him three thousand men, under A. D. 1591.
sir John Norris, who had commanded with reputation in the Low Countries; and afterwards four thousand, under the earl of Essex, a young nobleman, who, by many exterior accomplishments, and much real merit, was daily rising into favour, and seemed to occupy that place in her affections, which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed. With these supplies, joined to an army of thirty-five thousand men, Henry entered Normandy, according to his agreement with Elizabeth, and formed the siege of Rouen. The place made an obstinate resistance; but, as the Catholic forces were unable to keep the field, it must soon have been obliged to surrender, if an unexpected event had not procured it relief. The duke of Parma again left his government; and, advancing to Rouen with rapid marches, again disappointed Henry, by obliging him to raise the siege. The gallant monarch, burning with revenge, again boldly offered battle, and pursued the foe; but the duke, by a

⁴ Daniel. tome ix.—Thuan. lib. xiv.—Davila, lib. xi.

wonderful piece of generalship, and in spite of the greatest obstacles, a second time made good his retreat to the Netherlands⁵.

Henry was in some measure consoled for this disappointment, by hearing that Lesdiguieres had recovered Provence, chased the duke of Savoy over the mountains, and made incursions even to the gates of Turin; that the viscount de Turenne had vanquished and slain the mareschal of Lorrain; that Thammes had defeated the duke de Joyeuse in Languedoc, and killed two thousand men; that La Valette, the new governor of Provence, had retaken Antibes, and the Spaniards had been baffled in an attempt upon Bayonne⁶.

All things were now hastening to a crisis between the parties. The faction of Sixteen, which was entirely in the interest of Spain, its principal members being pensioners of Philip, had hanged the first president of the parliament of Paris, and two of the judges, for not condemning to death a man obnoxious to the junto, but against whom no crime was found. The duke of Mayenne, on the other hand, afraid of being crushed by that faction, had caused four of the Sixteen to be executed in the same manner. The duke of Parma, on the part of Philip, pressed the duke of Mayenne to call an assembly of the states, in order to deliberate on the election of a king; and the Catholics of Henry's party plainly intimated to him, that they expected he would now declare himself on the article of religion.

The king and the duke of Mayenne were equally sensible of the necessity of complying with these demands, though alike disagreeable to each. The states were convoked: and the duke of Parma, under pretence of supporting their resolutions, was ready to enter France with a powerful army, in order to forward the views of Philip. But the death of that great general at Arras, where he was assembling his forces, freed the duke of Mayenne from a dangerous rival, Henry from a formidable enemy, and perhaps France from becoming a province of Spain.

The states, or more properly the heads of the Catholic faction, met at Paris; and the pope's legate proposed, that they should bind themselves by an oath, never to be reconciled to the king of Navarre, even though he should embrace the Catholic faith. This motion was opposed by the duke of Mayenne and the major part of the assembly, but supported by the Spanish faction; and as there was yet no appearance of Henry's changing his religion, the duke of Feria, Philip's ambassador, after attempting to gain the duke of Mayenne, by offering him a large sum of money and the sovereignty of Burgundy, boldly proposed, that the states should choose

⁵ Davila. lib. xii. xiii.—Thuan. lib. ciii

⁶ Id. ibid.

the infanta Isabella queen, as the nearest relative of Henry III.; and should name the archduke Albert, to whom her father was inclined to give her in marriage, king in her right. The most zealous of the Sixteen condemned this proposal; declaring, that they could never think of admitting at once two foreign sovereigns. The duke of Feria changed his ground. He proposed the infanta on condition that she should espouse a prince of France, including the house of Lorraine, the nomination being left to his Catholic majesty; and at length he fixed on the young duke of Guise. Had this proposal preceded the other, Philip might perhaps have carried his point; but now the duke of Mayenne, unwilling to become dependent on his nephew, pretended to dispute the ambassador's power: and the parliament of Paris published a decree, declaring such a treaty contrary to the Salic law, which, being a fundamental principle of the government, could on no account be set aside⁷.

While these disputes were agitated at Paris, Henry was pushing his military operations; but he was sensible, notwithstanding his successes, that he never could, by force of arms alone, render himself master of his kingdom. The Catholics of his party grew daily more importunate to know his sentiments in regard to religious matters; and their jealousy on this point seemed to increase, in proportion as he approached to the full possession of his throne. Though a Protestant, he was no bigot to his sect; he considered theological differences as subordinate to the public good; and therefore ordered the divines of the two religions to hold conferences, that he might be able to take, with greater decency, that step which the security of his crown, and the happiness of his subjects, now made necessary.

In these conferences, if we may credit the celebrated marquis de Rosni (afterwards duke of Sully, and prime minister to Henry), the Protestant divines even allowed themselves to be worsted, in order to furnish the king with a better pretext for embracing that religion which it was so much his interest to adopt. But, however that might be, it is certain, that the more moderate Protestants, and Rosni among others, were convinced of the necessity of such a step; and that Henry, July 12. soon after the taking of Dreux, solemnly made his abjuration at St. Denis, and received absolution from the archbishop of Bourges⁸.

⁷ Davila, lib. xiii.—Henault, tome ii.

⁸ Id. *ibid.* Nothing can more strongly demonstrate the propriety of such a measure, than the reflections of Davila, a living and intelligent observer of the times. "The king's conversion," says he, "was certainly the most powerful motive that could be applied to the dangerous disease of the nation. But the truce by which it was preceded, did also dispose men's minds for the working of so wholesome a medicine; for the people on both sides having begun to taste the security and the benefits that result from concord, in a season when

This measure, however, though highly agreeable to the majority of the French nation, was not immediately followed by those beneficial consequences which were expected from it. The more zealous Catholics suspected Henry's sincerity : they considered his abjuration merely as a device to deceive them ; and, as the personal safety of many, who had distinguished themselves by their violence, was concerned in obstructing his progress, they had recourse to their former expedient of assassination, in which they were encouraged by their priests. Several attempts were made against the king's life. The zealous Huguenots, on the other hand, became more diffident of Henry's intentions towards their sect ; and his protestant allies, particularly the queen of England, expressed great indignation at this interested change of his religion. Sensible, however, that the confederate Romanists and the king of Spain were still their common enemies, Elizabeth at last admitted his apologies. She continued her supplies of men and money : and time soon produced a wonderful alteration in the affairs of the French monarch, and evinced the wisdom of the step which he had taken, though not entirely conformable to the laws of honour, and consequently a reproach on his private character.

The marquis of Vitri, governor of Meaux, was the first man of rank who shewed the example of a return to duty. He had often solicited the duke of Mayenne, as the cause of the war was at an end, to make his peace with the king ; but receiving no satisfaction from that nobleman, he resolved to follow the dictates of his own heart. He ordered the garrison to evacuate the town ; and having assembled the magistrates, delivered to them the keys. " Gentlemen," said he, " I scorn to steal an advantage, or make my fortune at other men's expense. I am going to pay my allegiance to the king, and leave it in your power to act as you please." The magistrates, after a short deliberation, agreed to send a deputation to Henry, to make their submissions. The deputies were so confounded at their audience, that they were incapable of speech, and threw themselves at the king's feet. Having viewed them for some moments in that condition, Henry burst into tears ; and lifting them up, said, " Come not as enemies to crave forgiveness, but as children to a father always willing to receive you with open arms⁹."

The popularity acquired by this reception greatly promoted

harvest and vintage made them more sensible of the happiness, they fell so in love with it, that it was afterwards more easy to incline them to a desire of peace, and a willing obedience under their lawful prince." Hist. lib. xiv.

the royal cause. Henry was solemnly crowned at Chartres; and every thing seemed to promise a speedy pacification. La Chastre delivered up the provinces of Orléanois and Berri, of which he was governor, and D'Alaincourt the city of Pontoise; the duke of Mayenne retired from Paris; and the count de Brisac, who commanded the French garrison (for there was also a Spanish one), privately admitted the king into his capital, of which he took possession almost without shedding blood. Villars, who had so gallantly defended Rouen, surrendered that city on conditions; and many other towns either offered terms, or opened their gates without stipulating for any. The duke d'Elbœuf, who had seized the government of Poictou, declared for the king. The young duke of Guise also made his peace with Henry. Baligny who held the principality of Cambray, submitted; and the marshal, d'Aumont, with the assistance of an English fleet and army, reduced Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Brest, towns guarded by the Spanish forces, while the king in person besieged and took Laon. On this advantage Amiens, and a great part of Picardy, acknowledged his sway¹⁰.

In the midst of these successes, Henry was on the point of perishing by the hand of a desperate assassin. John Chastel, a young fanatic, educated among the Jesuits, struck him on the mouth with a knife, while he was saluting one of his courtiers, in a chamber of the Louvre, and beat out one of his teeth. The blow was intended for the king's throat; but, fortunately, his stooping prevented it from striking that dangerous part. The assassin was seized, avowed his principles, and was put to death. On his examination, he confessed that he had frequently heard his ghostly preceptors say, that king-killing was lawful; and that, as Henry had not yet been absolved by the pope, he thought he might kill him with a safe conscience. Some writings to the same purpose were found in the possession of father Guiscard, who was condemned to suffer the punishment appointed for treason; and all the Jesuits were banished from the kingdom, by a decree of the parliament of Paris¹¹.

Amidst these incidents, war was still carried on with vigour in the Low Countries. The states not only continued to maintain the struggle for liberty, but even rose superior to the power of Spain. Prince Maurice surprised Breda; and, by the assistance of the English forces, under sir Francis Vere, he took Gertruydenberg, and Groningen, after two of the most obstinate and best-conducted sieges recorded in history. Count Mansfield, an able and experienced officer, who had succeeded the

¹⁰ Davila.—Mezeray.—Dupleix.

¹¹ Davila, lib. xiv.—Henault, tome ii.

duke of Parma in the chief command, beheld the reduction of the first with an army superior to that of the prince, without being able to force his lines ; and Verdugo, the Spanish general, durst not attempt the relief of the second, though the garrison made a gallant defence¹².

The progress of the English and Dutch, however, did not prevent the archduke Ernest, now governor of the Low Countries, from sending ten thousand men to lay waste the frontier of France ; and Henry, who had been long engaged in hostilities with Philip, was provoked by this fresh insult, as well as A. D. 1595. encouraged by his late success, and that of the states, to declare war against Spain. He led an army into Burgundy ; expelled the Spaniards from that province ; obliged the duke of Mayenne to sue for an accommodation ; and received absolution from the pope.

But while this great prince, rendered too confident by good fortune, was employed in a wild and fruitless expedition into Franche-Comté, in compliance with the ambition of his mistress, the fair Gabrielle d'Estrées, who wished to procure a principality for her son Cæsar, a Spanish army, under the command of the conde de Fuentes, reduced Dourlens, Catelet, and Cambray.

A. D. 1596. To counterbalance these losses, the duke of Guise surprised Marseilles ; and Henry concluded his negotiation with the duke of Mayenne, who, charmed with the generous reception he met with on his submission, continued ever after firmly attached to the king's person and government.

When informed of the success of the duke of Guise, Henry was so elate, that he exclaimed with transport, " Then I am at last a king !"¹³ His joy, however, was of a short duration. The archduke Albert, who had succeeded on the death of his brother to the government of the Netherlands, sent an army to besiege Calais ; and, as that fortress was not in a proper state of defence, the garrison was obliged to surrender, before the king could march with a sufficient force to its relief.

This unfortunate event was soon followed by another. While Henry was in the utmost distress for the loss of Calais, which fanned the dying ashes of the league,—while he was harassed by the complaints of the Huguenots, and chagrined at the extravagant demands of the dukes of Savoy and Mercœur, who were still in arms against him,—he received intelligence that Porto-Carrero, the Spanish governor of Dourlens, had made himself master of Amiens by surprise¹⁴.

The king of France was now ready to sink under the weight of his misfortunes. His finances were so diminished in pur-

¹² Bentivoglio.—Grot. Ann.

¹³ Dupleix, tome v.

¹⁴ Ca yet, tome iii.

chasing the allegiance of his rebellious subjects, or in reducing them to their duty, that he was utterly incapable of any new effort: he was not even able to pay the few troops in his service. He had already assembled his nobles, and explicitly informed them of his necessities; but they, impoverished also by the civil wars, seemed little disposed to assist him, though he addressed them in the most engaging language. "I have not called you together," said he, "as my predecessors were wont, to oblige you blindly to obey my will: I have assembled you to receive your counsels; to listen to them, to follow them, and to put myself entirely under your direction¹⁵."

"Give me an army," cried he, on another occasion, "and I will cheerfully venture my life for the state!"—But the means of furnishing *bread* for that army, as he pathetically complained, were not in his power.

Henry, however, was happily extricated out of all his difficulties by the fertile genius of his faithful servant, the marquis de Rosni, whom he appointed superintendant of the finances. That able minister, by loans upon the king's faith, by sums advanced upon the revenues, and other necessary expedients, enabled him to raise, in a short time, an army of more than twenty thousand men. With this army, the best appointed he had ever led into the field, and a body of English auxiliaries, Henry A. D. 1597. marched to Amiens, in order to attempt the recovery of that important place. "I will go," said he, on undertaking this arduous enterprise, "and act the king of Navarre: I have acted the king of France long enough." The Spanish garrison, composed of choice troops, and commanded by experienced officers, made an obstinate defence, and allowed the archduke time to march to its relief; but Albert, not being able to force the lines of the besiegers, though his army nearly consisted of twenty-five thousand veterans, retired to Arras, and Amiens surrendered to the French monarch¹⁶.

Henry returned in triumph to Paris, where he was received with every possible mark of loyalty and respect; and after convincing all parties, that the happiness of his people was his supreme wish, and the object of all his enterprises, he marched against the duke of Mercœur, who still held part of Bretagne. Surprised at this unexpected visit, and deserted by A. D. 1598. the nobility of the duchy, who hastened to make their peace with the king, the duke gave himself up for lost. But a fortunate expedient saved him. He offered the hand of his only daughter, with the duchies of Estampes, Penthièvre, and Mercœur, to Henry's natural son Cæsar; and the king.

15 Mem. de Sully, tome i.

16 Dupleix.—Davila.—Mezeray.

glad of such an opportunity of gratifying the ambition of his mistress, readily agreed to the proposal¹⁷.

Henry now saw himself in full possession of his kingdom: the league was entirely dissolved; and the Catholics in general seemed satisfied with his public profession of their religion. The Huguenots alone, his original friends, gave him uneasiness. They had frequently, since the king's abjuration of their faith, and his solemn reconciliation with the see of Rome, expressed apprehensions on account of their religion. Henry soon made them easy on that point. He assembled the heads of the party at Nantes; and from motives of policy as well as of gratitude and tenderness, passed the famous edict bearing date from that place, and which granted them every thing that they reasonably could desire. It not only secured to them the free exercise of their religion, but a share in the administration of justice, and the privilege of being admitted to all employments of trust, profit, and honour¹⁸.

During these transactions in France, the allies were well employed in the Low Countries. Prince Maurice and sir Francis Vere obtained at Tournhout, in 1597, a complete victory over the Spaniards; in consequence of which that place immediately surrendered, and a great number of others were reduced before the close of the campaign.

Nor were the enemies of Spain less successful in other quarters. Besides the naval armaments, which Elizabeth sent to annoy the Spaniards in the West Indies, and to obstruct their trade at home, a strong force was despatched to Cadiz, where Philip was making vast preparations for a new invasion of England. The combined English and Dutch fleet, under lord Effingham, attacked the Spanish ships and galleys in the bay; and, after an obstinate engagement, obliged them all either to surrender, retire beneath their forts, or run ashore. The earl of Essex, who commanded the land forces, then attacked the city, and reduced it with ease. Its spoils were considerable; but the resolution which the Spanish admiral took, of setting fire to a large fleet of merchant ships, richly laden in the port, deprived the conquerors of a far more valuable booty. The loss, however, sustained by the Spaniards, was not diminished by that expedient, and is computed at twenty millions of ducats¹⁹.

Age and infirmities, with so many disasters and disappointments, had now almost broken the lofty and obstinate spirit of Philip. He began to moderate his views, and offered peace on terms not very high or unreasonable; but, as he refused to acknowledge the independence of the United Provinces, they would

17 Davila, lib. xv.—Memoires de Sully, tome ii.

18 I buan.—Mezeray.—Varillas.

19 Birch's Mem. vol. ii.

not negotiate with him, and Elizabeth came to the same resolution on their account.

Henry's situation did not enable him to behave with equal firmness. To France, long torn by civil dissensions, peace was particularly necessary. Philip knew it, and offered advantageous conditions to Henry, that he might be enabled, by diminishing the number of his enemies, to act with greater vigour against the Dutch. The French monarch, however, before he treated with the king of Spain, sent ambassadors to Elizabeth and the states, to facilitate a general agreement. Both powers remonstrated against such a measure, unless the independence of the states should be made its basis. Henry pleaded his necessity of negotiating; and although they blamed the step which they saw he was determined to take, they were sensible of the justice of his arguments. A separate peace was accordingly concluded, between France and Spain, at Vervins²⁰; by which Henry recovered possession of all the places seized by Philip during the civil wars, and procured to himself, what he had long ardently desired, leisure to settle the domestic affairs of his kingdom; to cultivate the arts of peace (to which his genius was no less turned than to those of war,) and to contribute to the happiness and prosperity of his people.

But before we take a view of the flourishing state of France, under the equitable government of this great and good prince, and the wise administration of Sully, or of England during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, I must carry forward the contest between Spain and the United Provinces.

²⁰ Davila, lib. xv.—Mezeray, tome vi.

LETTER LXXIII.

History of Spain and the Low Countries, from the Peace of Vervins, to the Truce in 1609, when the Freedom of the United Provinces was acknowledged.

PEACE had not long been concluded between France and Spain, when a new treaty was adjusted A. D. 1598. between England and the United Provinces, with a view of prosecuting the war more vigorously against Philip. The states, afraid of being deserted by Elizabeth, submitted to what terms she was pleased to require of them. They agreed to diminish

their debt, which amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, by remitting considerable sums annually ; to pay the English troops in the Low Countries ; and to maintain, at their own expense, the garrisons of the cautionary towns, while England should continue the war against Spain¹.

Sept. 13. Soon after this negotiation was completed, Philip II., its chief object, breathed his last at Madrid ; leaving behind him the character of a gloomy, jealous, haughty, vindictive and inexorable tyrant. With great talents for government, he failed to obtain the reputation of a great prince ; because, with a perfect knowledge of mankind, and the most extensive power of benefiting them, he became the great destroyer of his species, and the chief instrument of human misery. His head fitted him for the throne of Spain and his indefatigable application for the sovereignty of both Indies ; but his heart, and his habit of thinking, only for the office of grand inquisitor. Hence he was long the terror, but never the admiration, of Europe.

Nor was Philip's character more amiable or estimable in private than in public life. Besides other crimes of a domestic nature, he was accused by William prince of Orange, in the face of all Europe, and seemingly with justice, of having sacrificed his own son, don Carlos, to his jealous ambition ; and of having poisoned his third wife, Isabella of France, that he might marry Anne of Austria, his niece². The particulars of the death of Carlos are sufficiently curious to merit attention. That young prince had sometimes taken the liberty to censure the measures of his father's government with regard to the Netherlands, and was even suspected of a design of putting himself at the head of the insurgents, in order to prevent the utter ruin of his future subjects, for whose sufferings he had often expressed his compassion. In consequence of this suspicion he was put under confinement ; and although several princes interceded for his release, his father was inexorable. The inquisition, through the influence of the king, who on all great occasions consulted the members of that tribunal, passed sentence against the unhappy Carlos ; and the inhuman and unnatural Philip, under cover of that sentence, ordered poison, which proved effectual in a few hours, to be administered to his son and heir of empire³.

No European prince ever possessed such vast resources as Philip II. Besides his Spanish and Italian dominions, the kingdom of Portugal and the Netherlands, he enjoyed the whole East Indian commerce, and reaped the richest harvest of the American

¹ Camd. Ann.—Thuan. Hist.

² See the Manifesto of the prince of Orange, in answer to Philip's Proscription.

³ Compare Thuanus, lib. xliii. with Strada, lib. vii.

mines. But his prodigious armaments, his intrigues in France and in England, and his long and expensive wars in the Low Countries, exhausted his treasures, and enriched those whom he sought to subdue; while the Spaniards, dazzled with the sight of the precious metals, and transported by the idea of imaginary wealth, neglected agriculture and manufactures, and were obliged to depend on their more industrious neighbours for the luxuries as well as the necessities of life. Spain, once a rich and fertile kingdom, became only the mint of Europe. Its wedges and ingots were no sooner coined than called for; and were often mortgaged before their arrival, as the price of labour and ingenuity. The state was enfeebled, the country rendered sterile, and the people poor and miserable.

The condition of the United Provinces was in all respects the reverse of Spain. They owed every thing to their industry; by which a country naturally barren was rendered fertile, even while it was the scene of war. Manufactures were carried on with vigour, and commerce was extended to all the quarters of the globe. The republic had become powerful, and the people rich, in spite of every effort to enslave and oppress them. Conscious of this, the court of Madrid had changed its measures before the death of Philip. After much deliberation, that haughty monarch, despairing of being able to reduce the revolted provinces by force, and desirous of an accommodation, that he might end his days in peace, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, transferred to his daughter Isabella, contracted to the archduke Albert, the sovereignty of the Low Countries.

Philip died before the celebration of the marriage; but his son Philip III., a virtuous though a weak prince, punctually executed the contract; and Albert, after taking possession of the sovereignty according to the necessary forms, wrote to the states of the United Provinces, entreating them not to refuse submission to their natural princes, who would govern them with lenity, indulgence, and affection.

The states returned no answer to the archduke's letter. They were now determined to complete that independence for which they had so long struggled. But, even if their purpose had been less firm, there was a clause in the contract which would have produced the same resolution. It provided, that, if the infanta should leave no issue, all the provinces of the Low Countries should return to the crown of Spain; and, as there was little probability of her having offspring, the states saw their danger, and avoided it, by refusing to listen to any terms of submission⁴.

⁴ Meteren.—Bentivoglio.

The first material step taken by Albert and Isabella for reducing their revolted subjects to obedience, was the promulgation of an edict, in concert with Philip III., precluding the United Provinces from all intercourse with the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, or with the Spanish Netherlands. This was a severe blow to the commerce of the states. They had hitherto, singular as it may seem, been allowed to prosecute an open trade with all the Spanish dominions in Europe, and had drawn much of their wealth from that source, as well as increased by it their naval power. An idea of general advantage only could have induced Philip II. to permit such a traffic; and an experience of its balance being in favour of the republic, as will always be the case between industrious and indolent nations, induced his son to prohibit it under the name of indulgence. But the interdict was issued too late effectually to answer its end. The Dutch, already strong by sea, sent out a fleet to cruise upon the Spaniards; and, to compensate the restraint upon their home trade, they turned their views toward India, where they attacked the Spaniards and Portuguese, and at length monopolised the most lucrative branch of that important commerce.

Meanwhile the war was continued with spirit in the Low Countries. Besides several bodies of Germans and Swiss, the states took into their service two thousand French veterans, disbanded by Henry IV. on the conclusion of the peace of Vervins: and that prince generously supplied the republic with money, under pretence of paying his debts. The archduke's forces were, at the same time, much augmented by fresh levies from Spain, Italy, and Germany. Each party seemed formidable to the other, yet both were eager for the combat; and several towns having been taken, many gallantly assaulted, and no less gallantly defended on both sides, the two armies came to a general engagement at Nieuport, near Ostend⁵. The field was obstinately disputed for three hours. The allies began the battle with incredible intrepidity; and the Spanish veterans, who composed the enemy's van, received the shock with great firmness. The conflict was terrible. At length the Spaniards gave ground, but they soon returned to the charge. Again they were repulsed, and, in the issue, utterly broken and routed, with the loss of five thousand men, chiefly by the valour of the English auxiliaries under sir Francis Vere, who led the van of the confederates. We must not, however, with some of our too warm countrymen, ascribe the victory solely to English prowess. A share of the honour, at least, ought to be allowed

⁵ Grat. lib. ix.—Dentivoglio, par. iii. lib. vi.

to the military skill of prince Maurice ; to a body of Swiss, immediately under his command, that supported the English troops ; and to the courage of the numerous volunteers, who had come from all parts of Europe to study the art of war under so able and experienced a general, and who strove to outdo each other in daring acts of heroism.

This victory was of the utmost importance to the United Provinces, as the defeat of their army, in the present crisis, would in all probability have been followed by the loss of their liberties, and their final ruin as an independent state ; but its consequences otherwise were very inconsiderable. Prince Maurice either misspent his time after the battle, or his troops, as he affirmed, were so exhausted with fatigue, as not to be fit for any new enterprise, till Albert was again ready to take the field with a superior army. Overtures of peace were renewed, and rejected by the states. The allies formed the siege of Rhinberg, and the archduke that of Ostend. A. D. 1601. Rhinberg was reduced, but Maurice did not think his strength sufficient to attempt the relief of Ostend.

The siege of that important place was vigorously conducted by the archduke in person, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army. The brave resistance which he met with astonished but did not discourage him. His heart was set on the reduction of Ostend. All the resources of war were exhausted ; torrents of blood were shed, but neither side was dispirited ; because both received constant supplies, the one by sea, the other from the neighbouring country. New batteries were very frequently raised, and assaults were multiplied without effect. The garrison, commanded by sir Francis Vere, who had gallantly thrown himself into the town in the face of the enemy, repelled all the attempts of the Spaniards with the greatest intrepidity ; and at length obliged Albert to turn the siege into a kind of blockade, and commit the command to Rivas, one of his generals, while he himself went to Ghent, in order to concert new measures for accomplishing his favourite enterprise. A. D. 1602.

The states embraced this opportunity of changing the garrison of Ostend, worn out and emaciated with continual fatigue and watching ; and, as the communication by sea was open, the scheme was executed without difficulty. A fresh garrison, supplied with every necessary, took charge of the town, under the command of colonel Dorp, a Dutchman, colonel Edmunds, a Scotchman, and Hertian, a Frenchman ; while sir Francis Vere, with the former garrison, joined the army under prince Maurice.

The army before Ostend, composed of Flemings and Spaniards, was reinforced with eight thousand Italians, under the

marquis of Spinola, an officer of great military talents, to whom Albert wisely committed the conduct of the siege, after the ineffectual efforts of Rivas. Spinola showed, that no fortification, however strong, is impregnable to a skilful engineer, furnished with the necessary force. Ostend was reduced to a heap of ruins; and the besiegers were making preparations for the grand assault, when the governor offered to capitulate. Spinola granted the garrison honourable terms⁶.

During this memorable siege, which was protracted beyond three years, and cost the king of Spain and the archduke the lives of above seventy thousand brave soldiers, prince Maurice made himself master of Rimbach, Grave, and Sluys, acquisitions which more than balanced the loss of Ostend; and Albert, by employing all his strength against the place, was prevented, during three campaigns, from entering the United Provinces. The Dutch did not neglect the occasion, which that interval of security afforded them, to push their trade and manufactures. Every nerve was strained in labour, and every talent in ingenuity. Commerce, both foreign and domestic, flourished; Ternate, one of the Moluccas, had been gained; and the East India company, that grand pillar of the republic, was established⁷.

But, as a counterpoise to these advantages, the states had lost the alliance of England in consequence of the death of Elizabeth. James I., her successor, showed no inclination to engage in hostilities with Spain; and concluded, soon after his accession, a treaty with that court. Through the intercession of Henry IV., however, he agreed to supply the states secretly with money: and what is very remarkable as well as honourable, it appears that James in his treaty with Spain, had expressly reserved the power of sending assistance to the United Provinces⁸.

The republic, at present, urgently required support. Philip III., now sensible that the infanta could have no issue, and consequently that the Netherlands must revert to the crown of Spain, adopted the resolution of carrying on the war against the revolted provinces with redoubled vigour. Large levies were made for that purpose; great sums were re-
mitted to the Low Countries; and Spinola was declared commander-in-chief of the Spanish and Italian forces.

The states saw their danger, and endeavoured to provide against it. They authorised prince Maurice to augment his army; they recruited their garrisons, improved their fortifications, and prepared for the most vigorous resistance. Spinola expected it, but was not discouraged: and his success was rapid for two campaigns, in spite of all the efforts of Maurice. But

⁶ Grot. lib. xiii.—Bentivoglio, par. iii. lib. vii.
⁸ Winwood's State Papers, vol. ii.

⁷ Le Clerc, lib. vii.

although he had made himself master of many important places, he had yet made no impression on the body of the republic; and three hundred thousand doubloons a month, the common expense of the army, appeared a sum too large for the Spanish treasury long to disburse, and a drain which not even the mines of Mexico and Peru could supply. His troops mutinied for want of pay. He became sensible of the impracticability of his undertaking, and delivered it as his opinion, that it was more advisable to enjoy the ten provinces in peace and security, than to risk the loss of the whole Netherlands in pursuit of the other seven, and ruin Spain by a hazardous attempt to conquer rebel subjects, who had too long tasted the sweets of liberty ever again to bear with ease the shackles of monarchy and absolute dominion⁹.

The court of Madrid was already convinced of the necessity of an accommodation; the archduke earnestly wished for peace; and the sentiments of the general had great influence both on the Spanish and Flemish councils. If the duke of Parma had failed to reduce the seven provinces, and Spinola gave up the attempt, who, it was asked, could hope to subdue them?—As there was no answering such a question, it was agreed, though not without many scruples, to negotiate with the Dutch republic as an independent state. A suspension of arms accordingly took place; conferences were opened; and after numberless obstructions and delays, interposed by the Orange faction, whose interest it was to continue the war, a truce was concluded at the Hague for twelve years, through the mediation of France and England¹⁰. This treaty secured to the United Provinces all their acquisitions, a freedom of commerce with the dominions of Philip and the archduke, on the same footing with other foreign nations, and the full enjoyment of those civil and religious liberties for which they had so gloriously struggled¹¹.

Scarcely had the court of Spain finished one civil war, occasioned by persecution, when it plunged into another. Philip III., at the instigation of the inquisition, and by the advice of his minister, the duke of Lerma, no less weak than himself, issued an edict, ordering all the Morescoes, or descendants of the Moors, to leave the kingdom within the space of thirty days, on pain of death. Those remains of the ancient conquerors of Spain were chiefly employed in commerce and agriculture; and the principal reason assigned for this barbarous decree was, that they were still Mohammedans in their hearts, though they conformed outwardly to the Christian worship, and therefore

9 Bentivoglio.

10 Grotius.—Bentivoglio.—Winwood.

11 Grot. lib. xvii.

might corrupt the true faith, as well as disturb the peace of the state. Persecution prompted them to undertake what they had hitherto shown no disposition to attempt. They chose themselves a king, and endeavoured to oppose the execution of the royal mandate; but being almost wholly unprovided with arms, they were soon obliged to submit, and were all banished¹².

By this violent and impolitic measure, Spain lost near a million of industrious inhabitants¹³; and as that kingdom was already depopulated by long and bloody foreign wars, by repeated emigrations to the New World, and enervated by luxury, it now sunk into a state of languor, out of which it has never since fully recovered. The remembrance of its former strength, however, still enabled it to inspire terror; and associations were formed for restraining the exorbitant power of Spain, after Spain had ceased to be powerful.

12 Fonesca, Traycion de los Morescos.

13 Geddes. Hist. Expuls. Moresco.

LETTER LXXIV.

The domestic History of England, from the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, in 1588, to the Death of Elizabeth, with some particulars of Scotland and Ireland.

THE execution of the queen of Scots, and the defeat of the Spanish armada, freed Elizabeth from all apprehensions for the safety of her crown. What part she took in the affairs of France and of the United Provinces, and what attempts she made by naval armaments to annoy the Catholic king, we have already seen. We must now, my dear Philip, take a view of her domestic policy, and her domestic troubles; and of her transactions with Scotland and Ireland, from this great æra of her guilt and her glory to that of her death, which left vacant the throne of England to the house of Stuart.

The leading characteristics of Elizabeth's administration were economy and vigour. By a strict attention to the first, she was able to maintain a magnificent court, and to support the persecuted Protestants in France and the Low Countries, without oppressing her people, or involving the crown in debt; and, by a spirited exertion of the second, she humbled the pride of

Spain, and gave stability to her throne, in spite of all the machinations of her enemies. After informing her parliament of the necessity of continuing the war against Philip, and how little she dreaded the power of that monarch, even though he should make a greater effort than that of his Invincible Armada, she concluded thus:—"I am informed, that when he attempted this last invasion, some upon the sea-coast forsook their towns, fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance—But I swear unto you, by God! if I knew those persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them feel what it is to be fearful in so urgent a cause¹."

Elizabeth's frugality in the administration of her realm seems less, however, to have proceeded from lenity to her people than from a fear of bringing herself under the power of the commons by the necessity of soliciting larger supplies, and thereby endangering her royal prerogative, of which she was always remarkably jealous, and which she exercised with a high hand. Numerous instances of this occur during her reign. Besides erecting the Court of High Commission, which was invested with almost inquisitorial powers, and supporting the arbitrary decrees of the Star Chamber, she granted to her servants and courtiers patents for monopolies, which put severe restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts, and enabled those who possessed them to raise commodities to what price they pleased. Salt, in particular, was raised from sixteen pence a bushel to fourteen or fifteen shillings, and many other articles in proportion. Almost all the necessaries of life were thus monopolised; which made a certain member ask with a sneer, when the list was read over in the house, "Is not bread among the number²?"

These grievances were frequently complained of in parliament, more especially by the *Puritans*; who, as the name imports, affected extraordinary purity, maintained that the church of England was not sufficiently purged from the errors of popery: and who carried into their political speculations the same bold spirit that dictated their theological opinions. But such complaints were made at the peril of the members, who were frequently committed to custody for their freedom of speech; and all motions to remove those enormous grievances were suppressed, as attempts to invade the royal prerogative. The queen, by messages to the house, repeatedly admonished the commons "not to meddle with what nowise belonged to them (matters of state or religion,) and what did not lie within the compass of

¹ D'Ewes' Journal of Parliament

² D'Ewes

their understanding ;” and she warned them, “ since neither her commands nor the example of their wiser brethren (those devoted to the court) could reclaim their audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous folly, that some other species of correction must be found for them³. ”

These messages were patiently received by the majority of the house ; and it was even asserted, “ that the royal prerogative was not to be canvassed, disputed, or examined, and did not even admit of any limitation ; that absolute princes, such as the sovereigns of England, were a species of divinity ; that it was in vain to attempt tying the queen’s hands by laws or statutes, since, by her dispensing power, she could loosen herself at pleasure⁴ ! ” — But the Puritans, who alone possessed any just sentiments of freedom, and who employed all their industry to be elected into parliament, still hazarded the utmost indignation of Elizabeth, in vindicating the natural rights of mankind. They continued to keep alive that precious spark of liberty which they had rekindled ; and which, burning more fiercely from confinement, broke out into a blaze under the two succeeding reigns, and, agitated but not smothered by opposition, consumed the church and monarchy ; from whose ashes, like the fabled phoenix, singly to arrest the admiration of ages, sprang our present glorious and happy constitution.

Among the subjects which Elizabeth prohibited the parliament from taking into consideration, was the succession to the crown. But, as all danger from a rival claim had expired with the queen of Scots, a motion was made by Peter Wentworth, a puritan, for petitioning her majesty to fix the succession ; which, though in itself sufficiently respectful, incensed the queen to such a degree, that she committed Wentworth to the Tower, and sent all the members who seconded him to the Fleet. Her malignity against Mary seems to have settled upon her son James ; for she not only continued to avoid acknowledging him as her successor, though a peaceable and unambitious prince, but refused to assist him in suppressing a conspiracy of some Catholic noblemen, formed in conjunction with the king of Spain, their common enemy⁵. She endeavoured to keep him in perpetual dependence, by bribing his ministers, or fomenting discontents among his subjects ; and she appears to have had some concern in the conspiracy of the earl of Gowrie, for seizing his person, though not, as some suppose, with a view of taking away his life.

A considerable share of her attention was devoted to the affairs of Ireland, where the English sovereignty had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Irish princes and nobles,

divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obedience to a power which they were not able to resist; but, as no durable force was kept on foot to retain them in submission, they quickly relapsed into their former state of barbarous independence. Other reasons conspired to prevent a cordial union. The small army which was maintained in Ireland not being regularly paid, the officers were obliged to give their soldiers the privilege of free quarters upon the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered: and that, together with the old opposition of manners, laws, and interests, was now heightened by religious animosity, the Irish being still Catholics, and in a great measure savages⁶.

The romantic and impolitic project of the English princes for subduing France occasioned this inattention to the affairs of Ireland; a conquest pregnant with solid advantages. Elizabeth early saw the importance of that island, and took several measures for reducing it to a state of order and submission. Besides furnishing her deputies, or governors of Ireland, with a greater force, she founded a university in Dublin, with a view of introducing arts and learning into that capital and kingdom, and of civilising the barbarous manners of the people⁷. But unhappily sir John Perrot, in 1585, being then lord deputy, put arms into the hands of the inhabitants at Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of the English government, to repress the incursions of the Scots of the western isles; and Philip II. having, about the same time, engaged many of the Irish gentry to serve in his armies in the Low Countries, Ireland, thus provided both with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms, was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war, and became more formidable to England.

Hugh O'Neale, the head of a potent clan, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but preferring the pride of barbarous license and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, he secretly fomented the discontents of his countrymen, and formed the project of rendering himself independent. Trusting, however, to the influence of his deceitful oaths and protestations, as he was not yet sufficiently prepared, he surrendered himself into the hands of sir William Russel, who had been appointed the queen's deputy in Ireland; and being dismissed, in consequence of these protestations of his pacific disposition, and retiring into his own district, he embraced the daring resolution of rising in open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity and im-

⁶ Spenser's Account of Ireland.

⁷ Sir John Davies.—Camden.

prudence of his enemies. His success exceeded his most sanguine hopes. After amusing sir John Norris, sent over to reduce him to obedience, with treacherous promises and proposals of accommodation, by means of which the war was protracted for some years, he defeated the English army under sir Henry Bagnal, who was left dead on the field, together with fifteen hundred men⁸.

This victory, which greatly animated the courage of the Irish, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who now assumed the name of Deliverer of his country, made Elizabeth sensible of the necessity of pushing the war by vigorous measures. She conferred the lieutenancy of Ireland, at his own request, on her reigning favourite the earl of Essex, ever ambitious of military fame; invested him with powers almost unlimited, and to ensure success against the rebels, she levied an army of sixteen thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse. But the earl, unacquainted with the country, and misled by interested counsels, disappointed the expectations of the queen and the nation; and, fearing the total alienation of her affections, by the artifices of his enemies, he hastened to England, in repugnance to her express order, and arrived at court before any one was apprised of his intentions⁹.

The unexpected appearance of her favourite, whose impatience carried him to her bed-chamber, where he threw himself at her feet, and kissed her hand, at first disarmed the resentment of Elizabeth. She was incapable, in that moment of soft surprise, of treating him with severity: hence he was induced to say, on retiring, he thanked God, that, though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home.

When Elizabeth, however, had leisure for recollection, her displeasure returned. All the earl's faults again occurred to her mind; and she thought it necessary, by some severe discipline, to subdue that haughty and imperious spirit, which, presuming on her partiality and indulgence, had ventured to disregard her instructions, and disobey her commands. She ordered him to be confined; and by a decree of the privy council, he was deprived of all his employments, except that of master of the horse, and sentenced to remain a prisoner during her majesty's pleasure.

Humbled by this sentence, but still trusting to the queen's tenderness, Essex wrote to her, that he kissed her majesty's hand, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulness, till she should condescend to admit him to that presence, which had ever been the

⁸ Sir John Davies.—Camden.

⁹ Winwood, vol. i.

chief source of his happiness and enjoyment. He had now resolved, he added, to make amends for his past errors ; to retire into a rural solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, " Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the field, let me eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it shall please the queen to restore me to my understanding¹⁰."

Elizabeth, who had always declared to the world, and even to Essex himself, that the purpose of her severity was to correct, not to ruin him, was much pleased with these sentiments ; and replied, that she heartily wished his actions might correspond with his expressions. Every one expected that he would soon be restored to his former degree of credit and favour, and, as is usual in reconciliations proceeding from tenderness, that he would even acquire an additional ascendancy over his fond mistress. But his enemies, by whom she was continually surrounded, found means to persuade the queen, that his lofty spirit was not yet sufficiently subdued ; and, as a farther trial of his submission, she refused to renew a patent, which he possessed, for a monopoly of sweet wines. She even accompanied her refusal with an insult. " An ungovernable beast," added she, " must be stinted in its provender¹¹."

Essex, who had with difficulty restrained his proud heart so long, and whose patience was now exhausted, imagining, from this fresh instance of severity, that the queen had become inexorable, gave full rein to his violent disposition, and threw off all appearance of duty and respect. Already high in the public favour, he practised anew every art of popularity. He indulged himself in great liberties of speech ; particularly with regard to the queen's person, which was still an object of her vanity, and on which she allowed herself to be complimented, though approaching to her seventieth year. And what was, if possible, still more mortifying to Elizabeth, he made secret applications to the king of Scotland, offering to extort an immediate declaration in favour of his succession¹².

But James, although sufficiently desirous of securing the reversion of the crown of England, and though he had negotiated with all the courts of Europe, in order to procure support to his hereditary title, did not approve the violent means which Essex proposed to employ for that end. His natural timidity disinclined him to any bold expedient ; and he was afraid, if the attempt should fail, that Elizabeth might be induced to take some extraordinary step to his prejudice. Essex, however, continued to make use of that prince's claim, as a colour for his rebellious projects. In a select council of malcontents, it was resolved that the palace should be seized, and the queen obliged to re-

10 Camden.

11 Camden.

12 Birch's Mem. vol. ii.

move all the earl's enemies, call a parliament, and settle the succession, together with a new plan of government¹³.

Elizabeth had some intimation of these desperate resolutions. A. D. 1601. Essex was summoned to attend the council; but he received a private note, which warned him to provide for his safety. He concluded that his conspiracy was fully discovered; excused himself to the council, on pretence of indisposition; and, as he judged it impracticable to seize the palace without greater preparations, he sallied forth, at the head of about two hundred followers, and attempted to raise the city. But the citizens, though attached to his person, showed no disposition to join him. In vain did he tell them, that his life was in danger, and that England was sold to the Spaniards. They flocked about him in amazement, but remained silent and inactive: and, despairing of success, he retreated with difficulty to his own house. There he seemed determined to defend himself to extremity, and rather to die, like a brave man, with his sword in his hand, than ignominiously fall by the hands of the executioner; but, after some parley, his resolution failed him, and he surrendered at discretion.

Orders were immediately given for the trial of the earl and his chief associates. Their guilt was too notorious to be doubted; and sentence was pronounced accordingly. The queen, who had behaved with the utmost composure during the insurrection, now appeared all agitation and irresolution. The unhappy condition of the condemned peer recalled her fondness: resentment and affection, the care of her own safety, and concern for her favourite, alternately took possession of her bosom. She signed the warrant for his execution: she countermanded it: she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness. She waited impatiently for the intercession of a friend, to whose solicitations she might yield that forgiveness, which of herself she was ashamed to grant. No such friend appeared; and Elizabeth, imagining that this ungrateful neglect proceeded from the earl's shaftiness—from a pride of spirit, which disdained to solicit her clemency—at last permitted the sentence to be put in execution¹⁴. He was privately beheaded within the Tower, to preclude the danger of a popular insurrection.

Such was the untimely fate of Robert d'Evreux, earl of Essex. Brave, generous, affable, incapable of disguising his own sentiments or of misrepresenting those of others, he possessed the rare felicity of being at once the favourite of his sovereign and the darling of the people. But this fortunate circumstance proved the cause of his destruction. Confident of the queen's partiality towards him, as well as of his own merit, he treated

¹³ Camden.

¹⁴ Birch.—Camden.

her with a haughtiness which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; and, when his rashness, imprudence, and violence, had exposed him to her resentment, he hoped, by means of his popularity, to make her submit to his imperious will. But the attachment of the people to his person was not strong enough to shake their allegiance to the throne. He saw his mistake, though too late, and his death was accompanied with the most humiliating penitence. But his remorse unhappily took a wrong direction. It made him so ungenerous as to publish the name of every one to whom he had communicated his treasonable designs¹⁵. He debased his character, while he attempted to make his peace with Heaven; and, after all, it is much to be questioned, whatever he might imagine in those moments of affliction, whether in bewailing his crimes, he did not secretly mourn his disappointed ambition, and, in naming his accomplices, hope to appease his sovereign. But, however that might be, it is sincerely to be lamented that a person who possessed so many noble virtues should have involved, not only himself, but many of his friends in ruin.

The king of Scotland, who had a great regard for Essex, though he neglected his violent counsels, no sooner heard of his criminal and unsuccessful enterprise, than he sent two ambassadors to the court of England, in order to intercede for his life, as well as to congratulate the queen on her escape from the conspiracy. But these envoys arrived too late to execute the first part of their instructions, and therefore prudently concealed it. Elizabeth received them with great respect; and during their residence in England, they found the dispositions of men as favourable as they could wish to the Scottish succession. They even entered into a private correspondence with secretary Cecil (son of the late lord-treasurer Burghley), whose influence, after the fall of Essex, was uncontrolled¹⁶. That profound courtier thought it prudent to acquire, by this policy, the confidence of a prince who might soon become his master: and James, having gained the man whose opposition he had hitherto chiefly feared, waited in perfect security till time should bring about that event which would open his way to the English throne¹⁷.

While these incidents occurred in Britain, lord Montjoy, governor of Ireland, had restored the queen's authority in that kingdom. He defeated the rebels near Kinsale, though they were supported by a considerable body of Spaniards; and many of the chieftains, after skulking for some time in the woods and morasses, submitted to mercy, and received such conditions as the deputy was pleased to prescribe. A. D. 1602.

Even Tyrone petitioned for terms ; which, being denied him, he was obliged to throw himself on the queen's mercy¹⁸.

A. D. 1603. But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any pleasure from this fortunate conclusion of a war which had long disturbed her domestic peace. Though in her seventieth year, she had hitherto enjoyed a good state of health ; but the infirmities of old age at length began to steal upon her, and with them that depression of spirits by which they are naturally accompanied. She had no offspring to inherit her extensive dominions ; no son, no daughter, to whom she could transmit her sceptre, and the glories of her illustrious reign ; no object of affection to alleviate her sorrows, or on whom she could repose her increasing cares. There lay the source of her most dangerous disease. A deep melancholy, which nothing could dissipate, and which rendered her dead to every human satisfaction, had settled on her mind.

I have already taken notice of the chief cause of the sacrifice of the earl of Essex. His criminal designs might have been forgiven, as the extravagances of a great soul ; but his want of confidence in the affection of an indulgent mistress, or his sullen contempt of her mercy, seemed unpardonable. His enemies knew it : they took advantage of it, to hasten his destruction ; and his friends were afraid to interpose, lest they should be represented as abettors of his treason. But no sooner was the fatal blow struck, than, fear and envy being laid asleep, his merits were universally acknowledged. Even his sentiments of duty and loyalty were extolled. Elizabeth became sensible that she had been deceived, and lamented her rashness in sacrificing a man on whose life her happiness depended. His memory became daily more dear to her, and she seldom mentioned his name without tears¹⁹. Other circumstances conspired to heighten her regret. Her courtiers, having no longer the superior favour of Essex to dread, grew less respectful and assiduous in their attendance, and all men desirous of preferment seemed to look forward to her successor. The people caught the temper of the court ; the queen went abroad without the usual acclamations. And as a farther cause of uneasiness, she had been prevailed on, contrary to her most solemn declarations and resolutions, to pardon Tyrone, whose rebellion had given her so much trouble, and whom she regarded as the remote cause of her favourite's misfortunes. An unexpected discovery completed her sorrow, and rendered her melancholy fatal.

While Essex was in high favour with Elizabeth, she had given him a ring as a pledge of her affection, and accompanied it with a promise, that into whatever disgrace he might fall, or what-

¹⁸ Camden.

¹⁹ Birch's Mem. vol. ii

ever prejudices she might be induced by his enemies to entertain against him, on producing that ring he might ensure forgiveness. This precious gift he had reserved for the final extremity. All his misfortunes had not been able to draw it from him; but, after his condemnation, he resolved to try its efficacy, and requested the countess of Nottingham to deliver it to the queen. The countess mentioned the affair to her husband, one of the earl's most implacable enemies, who persuaded her to act an atrocious part; neither to deliver the ring to the queen nor return it to the earl. Elizabeth, who had anxiously expected that last appeal to her tenderness, imputed an omission, occasioned by the countess's treachery, to the disdainful pride of her favourite; and she was chiefly induced, by the resentment arising from that idea, to sign the warrant for his execution²⁰.

Conscience discovered what it could not prevent. The countess of Nottingham, being on the verge of death, was seized with remorse on account of her perfidy. She desired to see her sovereign, in order to reveal to her a secret, without disclosing which she could not die in peace. When the queen entered her apartment, she presented the fatal ring, related the purpose for which she had received it, and begged forgiveness. All Elizabeth's affection returned, and all her rage was roused. "God may forgive you," cried she, "but I never can!" shaking the dying countess in her bed, and rushing out of the room²¹.

Few and miserable, after this discovery, were the days of Elizabeth. Her spirit left her, and existence itself seemed a burthen. She rejected all consolation: she would scarcely taste food, and refused every kind of medicine, declaring that she wished to die, and would live no longer. She could not even be prevailed on to go to bed; but threw herself on the carpet, where she remained, pensive and silent, during ten days and nights, leaning on cushions, and holding her finger almost continually in her mouth, with her eyes open, and fixed upon the ground. Her sighs, her groans, were all expressive of some inward grief, which she cared not to utter, and which preyed upon her life. At last, her death visibly approaching, the privy council sent to know her will on the subject of the succession. She answered with a feeble voice, that, as she held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor; and when Cecil requested her to explain herself, she said, "who should that be but my nearest kinsman the king of Scots?" She expired soon after, without a struggle, her body being wasted by anguish and abstinence²².

²⁰ Birch's Memoirs.

²¹ Birch's Memoirs.

²² Camden.—Birch.—Strype.—In this account of the death of Elizabeth, I have differed,

History does not afford a more striking lesson on the unsubstantial nature of human greatness than in the close of this celebrated reign. Few sovereigns ever swayed a sceptre with greater dignity than Elizabeth : few ever enjoyed more uniform prosperity, and none could be more beloved ; yet this great princess, after all her glory and popularity, lived to fall into neglect, and sunk to the grave beneath the pressure of a private grief, accompanied by circumstances of distress, which the wretch under torture might pity, and which the slave who expires at the oar does not feel. But the reign of Elizabeth yields other lessons. It shows to what a degree of wealth and consequence a nation may be raised in a few years by a wise and vigorous administration, and what powerful efforts may be made by a brave and united people, in repelling or annoying an enemy, however superior in force.

The character of Elizabeth herself has been too often drawn to admit of any new feature, and is best delineated in her conduct. To all the personal jealousy, the coquetry, and little vanities of a woman, she united the sound understanding and firm spirit of a man. A greater share of feminine softness might have made her more agreeable as a wife or a mistress, though not a better queen : a less insidious policy would have reflected more lustre on her administration, and a less rigid frugality, on some occasions, would have given more success to her arms. But as she was, and as she acted, she must be allowed to have been one of the greatest sovereigns that ever filled a throne, and may perhaps be considered as the most illustrious female that ever did honour to humanity.

in some particulars, from the crowd of historians. But, in conformity with general testimony, I have mentioned her *nomination* of the king of Scotland as her successor ; yet a respectable eye and ear witness tells us, that she was *speechless* before the question relative to the succession was proposed by the privy council. He candidly adds, however, “ that by putting her hand to her head, when the king of Scots was named to succeed her, *they all knew he was the man she desired should reign after her.*” (*Memoirs of the Life of Robert Carey Earl of Monmouth*, written by himself, p. 141). The late John earl of Corke, editor of Carey’s *Memoirs*, gives a less liberal interpretation of this sign : he supposes it might be the effect of pain.

LETTER LXXV.

Sketch of the French History, from the Peace of Vervins, in 1598, to the death of Henry IV. in 1610, with some Account of the Affairs of Germany, under Rodolph II.

NO kingdom, exempt from the horrors of war, could be more wretched than France, at the peace of Vervins. The crown was loaded with debts and pensions ; A. D. 1598. the country barren and desolated ; the people poor and miserable ; and the nobles, from a long habit of rebellion, rapine, and disorder, had nearly lost all sense of justice, allegiance, or legal submission. They had been accustomed to despise the authority of the prince, to invade the royal prerogative, and to sport with the lives and property of the people.

Happily France was favoured with a king, equally able and willing to remedy all these evils. Henry IV., to a sincere regard for the welfare of his subjects, added a sound head and a bold heart. His superiority in arms, to which he had been habituated from his early years, gave him great sway with all men of the military profession ; and his magnanimity, gallantry, and gaiety, recommended him to the nobility in general ; while his known vigour and promptitude, concurring with the love of his people, curbed the more factious spirits, or enabled him to crush them before their schemes were ripe for execution.

But to form a regular plan of administration, and to pursue it with success, amid so many dangers and difficulties, required more than the wisdom of one head, and the firmness of one heart. Henry stood in need of an able and upright minister, to whom he might resign the ordinary cares of government, and with whom he might consult on the most important matters of state. Such an assistant he found in the marquis de Rosni, whom, to add weight to his measures, he created duke of Sully.

This nobleman seemed formed to be the minister of Henry IV. Equally brave in the field, and penetrating in the cabinet, he was more cool and persevering than that great prince, whose volatility and quickness of thought did not permit him to attend long to any one object. Attached to his master's person, by friendship, and to his interest and the public good by principle, he employed himself with the most indefatigable industry to restore the dignity of the crown, without giving umbrage to the

nobility, or trespassing on the rights of the people. He first attended to the finances; and it is inconceivable in how little time he drew the most exact order out of that chaos, in which they had been involved by his predecessors. He made the king perfectly master of his own affairs; digesting the whole system of finance into tables, by the help of which Henry could see, almost at a single glance, all the branches of his revenue and expenditure. He levied taxes in the shortest and most frugal manner possible; for he held that every man so employed was a citizen lost to the public, and yet maintained by the public. He diminished all the expenses of government; but, at the same time, paid every one punctually, and took care that the king should always have such a reserve, as not to be obliged, on any emergency, either to lay new impositions on his people, or to make use of credit¹. By these prudent measures, he paid, in the space of five years, all the debts of the crown; augmented the revenue by the sum of four millions of livres, and had four millions in the treasury, though he had considerably reduced the taxes².

His attention, however, was not confined to the finances. He had the most sound notions of policy and legislation: and he endeavoured to reduce them to practice. "If I had a principle to establish," says he, "it would be this: *that good morals and good laws are reciprocally formed by each other.*" No observation can be more just, or more important to society: for, if the government neglect the manners, a relaxation of manners will lead to a neglect of laws; and the evil will go on always increasing, until the community arrive at the highest degree of corruption, when it must reform or go to ruin. "Hence," adds Sully, "in the affairs of men, the excess of evil is always the source of good³." In consequence of this mode of thinking, he co-operated warmly with the king's wishes for restoring order and justice throughout his dominions, and promoted the enactment of such laws as were farther necessary for that purpose.

But Sully's maxims, though in general excellent, were better suited in some respects to a poor and small republic than to a great and wealthy monarchy. Sensible that a fertile country, well cultivated, is the principal source of the happiness of a people, and the most solid foundation of national prosperity, he gave great encouragement to agriculture. But the austerity of his principles made him an enemy to all manufactures connected with luxury, although it is evident that a prosperous people will possess themselves of such manufactures, and that, if they cannot fabricate them, they must be purchased from foreigners

¹ Thuan. Hist.

³ Mém. de Sully, tome iv.

² Mémoires de Sully, tome iv.

with the precious metals, or with the common produce of the soil, which might otherwise be employed in the maintenance of useful artisans.

Henry himself, whose ideas were more liberal, though generally less accurate than those of his minister, had more just notions of this point. He accordingly introduced the culture and the manufacture of silk, contrary to the opinion of Sully : and the success was answerable to his expectations. Before his death he had the satisfaction to see that this manufacture not only supplied the home consumption, but brought more money into the kingdom than any of the former staple commodities⁴. A.D. 1602.

Henry also established, at great expense, manufactures of linen and tapestry. The workmen for the first he drew from the United Provinces ; for the last, from the Spanish Netherlands. He gave high wages and good settlements to all⁵. Hence arose his success. He was sensible that industrious individuals would not leave their native country without the temptation of large profit, and that, after they had left it, and acquired opulence, they would be inclined to return, in order to enjoy the company of their friends and fellow-citizens, unless fixed by such advantages as should overbalance that desire. To facilitate commerce, and promote the accommodation of his subjects, he built the Pont-Neuf, and cut the canal of Briare, which joins the Seine and Loire ; and he had projected the junction of the two seas, when a period was put to his life and all his great designs. A. D. 1607.

In the prosecution of these wise and salutary measures, which raised France from the desolation and misery in which she was involved to a more flourishing condition than she had ever enjoyed, Henry met with a variety of obstructions, proceeding from a variety of causes. A heart too susceptible of tender impressions was continually engaging him in new amours, destructive at once of his domestic peace and of the public tranquillity ; and what was truly extraordinary in a man of gallantry, the last attachment appeared always to be the strongest. His sensibility, instead of being blunted, seemed only to become keener by the change of objects. Scarcely had death relieved him from the importunities of Gabrielle d'Estrées (whom he had created duchess of Beaufort, and who possessed such an absolute ascendancy over him that he seemed resolved to marry her, in opposition to the advice of his wisest counsellors) when he gave a promise of marriage to Henrietta d'Entragues, though not yet divorced from Margaret of Valois, his first queen, whose licen-

⁴ Sir G. Carew's Relation of the State of France under Henry IV.

⁵ P. Matthieu.

tious amours had disgusted him, though perhaps as excusable as his own. That artful wanton had drawn this promise from him before she would crown his wishes. He showed the obligation to Sully, when ready to be delivered; and that faithful servant, transported with zeal for his master's honour, tore it in pieces. "I believe you are become a fool!" said Henry. "I know it," replied Sully; "and wish I were the only fool in France⁶."

Sully now thought himself out of favour for ever; and remained in that opinion, when the king surprised him, by adding to his former employments that of master of the ordnance. The sentence of divorce, which Henry had long been soliciting at Rome, was procured in 1599; and, to please his subjects, he espoused Mary of Medicis, daughter of Francis, grand duke of Tuscany. But this step did not put an end to his gallantries, which continued to embroil him either with the queen or his mistress, created marchioness of Verneuil. And Sully, whose offices were always required on such occasions, often found the utmost difficulty in accommodating these amorous quarrels, which greatly agitated the mind of Henry⁷.

But the king's most alarming troubles proceeded from the intrigues of the court of Spain. By these the duke of Savoy was encouraged to maintain war against him; and, after that prince was humbled, the duke of Biron was drawn into a conspiracy, which cost him his head. Other conspiracies were formed A. D. 1608. through the same instigation: the queen herself was induced to hold a secret correspondence with Spain, and a Spanish faction began to appear in the king's councils⁸.

Those continued attempts to disturb the peace of his kingdom, and sap the foundation of his throne, made Henry resolve to carry into execution a design which he had long meditated, of humbling the house of Austria, and circumscribing its power in Italy and Germany. While he was maturing that great project, a dispute concerning the succession to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers afforded him a pretext for taking arms: and this circumstance naturally leads us to cast an eye on the state of the empire.

Rodolph II., who succeeded his father Maximilian II. in 1576, was a prince of a pacific disposition: and although he was more occupied about the heavens than the earth (being devoted both to astronomy and astrology, which he studied under

6 *Mém. de Sully*, tome ii.

7 It was a satirical survey of this weak side of Henry's character which induced the sage Bayle to say, that he would have equalled the greatest heroes of antiquity, if he had been early deprived of his virility.

8 Dupleix.—Mezeray.

the famous Tycho Brahe,) the empire during his long reign enjoyed an extraordinary degree of tranquillity. The equity of his administration compensated its weakness. The chief disturbances which he met with proceeded from his brother Matthias, whom we have seen governor of the United Provinces. The Turks having invaded Hungary, Matthias was successful in opposing their progress; and a peace was concluded in 1606, with Ahmed, the successor of Mohammed III. The Hungarians, jealous of their religious rights, conferred their crown upon Matthias, their deliverer, who granted them full liberty of conscience, with every other privilege which they could desire⁹.—He afterward became master of Austria and Moravia, on the same conditions: and Rodolph, to avoid the horrors of civil war, confirmed to him those usurpations, with the succession to the kingdom of Bohemia, where the Lutheran opinions had taken deep root¹⁰.

In proportion as the reformed religion gained ground in Hungary and Bohemia, the Protestant princes of the empire became desirous of securing and extending their privileges; and their demands being refused, they entered into a new confederacy called the Evangelical Union. The asso- A. D. 1609. ciation was opposed by another, formed to protect the ancient faith, under the name of the Catholic League. The succession to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers roused to arms the heads of the two parties, who may be said to have slumbered since the peace of Passau.

John William, duke of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, having died without issue, several competitors arose for the succession, and the most powerful prepared to support their title by the sword. To prevent the evils which must have been occasioned by such violent contests, as well as to support his own authority, the emperor cited all the claimants to appear before him, within a certain term, to explain the nature of their several pretensions. Meanwhile he sequestered the fiefs in dispute, and sent his cousin Leopold, in quality of governor, to take possession of them, and to rule them in his name, till the right of inheritance should be settled. Alarmed at this step, John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neuberg, two of the competitors, united against the emperor, whom they suspected of interested views. They were supported by the elector Palatine, and the other princes of the evangelical union, as the emperor was by the elector of Saxony, one of the claimants, and the princes of the Catholic league; and, as their enemies were in alliance with

⁹ Heiss, Hist. de l'Emp. liv. iii. chap. vii.

¹⁰ Heiss, Hist. de l'Emp. liv. iii.—Barre, Hist. d'Allemagne, tome iv.

the pope and the king of Spain, they applied to the king of France¹¹.

Henry wanted only a decent apology for breaking openly with the house of Austria; and with such a pretence he was now furnished. The Protestant envoys found him well disposed to assist them: and a domestic event contributed to confirm his resolution. He was enamoured of the princess of Condé¹². Her husband, in a fit of jealousy, carried her to Brussels. The archduke Albert afforded them protection, notwithstanding a message from the French court, demanding their return. This new injury, which Henry keenly felt, added to former grounds of animosity, inflamed his rage against the house of Austria to the highest pitch; and he began instantly to put in motion all the wheels of that vast machine, which he had been constructing for many years, in order to erect a balance of power in Europe.

Historians are as much divided with regard to the nature of Henry's *Grand Design* (for so it is commonly called) as they are agreed about its object. The plan of a Christian commonwealth, as exhibited in Sully's Memoirs, by dividing Europe into fifteen associated states, seems a theory too romantic even for the visionary brain of a speculative politician. Henry might, at times, amuse his imagination with such a splendid idea; for the soundest minds have their reveries: but he never could seriously think of carrying it into execution. Perhaps he made use of it only as a gay covering to his real purpose of weakening the house of Austria, and of making himself, in a great measure, the arbiter of Christendom.

But whatever may have been the scheme on which Henry valued himself so much, and from which he expected such extraordinary consequences, his avowed resolution now was, to give law to the German branch of the Austrian family, by supporting the evangelical union. His preparations were vigorous, and his negotiations successful. Charles, duke of Savoy, his old enemy, and the most politic prince in Europe, readily entered into his views; and the Swiss and the Venetians took part in the al-

¹¹ Heisse et Barre, ubi. sup.

¹² His passion for that lady commenced before her marriage: and he seems only to have connected her with the prince of Condé in order more securely to gratify his desires. "When I first perceived," says Sully, "this growing inclination in Henry, I used my utmost endeavours to prevent its progress, as I foresaw much greater inconveniences from it than from any of his former attachments. And although these endeavours proved ineffectual, I renewed them, when the king proposed to me his design of marrying Mademoiselle Montmorency to the prince of Condé; for I had no reason to expect that Henry would exert, in such circumstances, that generous self-denial of which some lovers have shown themselves capable, when they have taken this method to impose upon themselves the necessity of renouncing the object of a tender affection." *Mém. de Sully*, liv. xxvi.

liance. He himself assembled an army of forty thousand men, chiefly old troops; and a more excellent train of artillery was prepared than had ever been brought into the field. Sully assured him there were forty millions of livres in the treasury; "and," added he, "if you do not increase your army beyond forty thousand, I will supply you with money sufficient for the support of the war without imposing any new tax¹³."

He proposed to command his army in person, and was impatient to put himself at its head; but the A.D. 1610. queen, appointed regent during his absence, insisted on being solemnly crowned before his departure. He is said to have been more disquieted at the thoughts of this ceremony than by any thing that had ever happened to him in his life. He was not only displeased at the delay which it occasioned, but, as we are informed, felt an inward dread, arising, no doubt, from the barbarous attempts which had been made upon his person, the rumours of new conspiracies, and the opportunity which a crowd afforded of putting them in execution. He agreed, however, to the coronation, notwithstanding these apprehensions, and even to be present at it. On that occasion he escaped: but, the next day, his coach being obstructed in a narrow street, May 14, N.S. Ravailiac, a blood-thirsty bigot, who had long sought such an opportunity, mounted the wheel of his carriage, and stabbed him to the heart with a knife, over the duke d'Espernon's shoulder, and amidst six more of his courtiers. The assassin, like some others of that age, thought he had done an acceptable service to God in committing murder; especially as the king was going to assist the Protestants, and consequently was still a heretic in his heart. He accordingly did not offer to make his escape, and seemed much surprised at the general detestation of his crime. He declared to the last, that it was entirely his own act, and that he had no accomplice¹⁴.

Thus perished Henry IV., one of the ablest and best princes that ever sat upon the throne of France. A more melancholy reflection cannot enter the human mind than is suggested by his untimely fall; that a wretch unworthy of existence, and incapable of one meritorious action, should be able to obstruct the most illustrious enterprises, and to terminate a life necessary to the welfare of millions!—Henry's chief weakness was his inordinate passion for women, which led him into many irregularities. But even that was rather a blemish in his private than in his public character. Though no man was more a lover, he was always a king. He never suffered his mistresses to direct his councils, or to influence him in the choice of his servants. But his libertine example had unavoidably a pernicious effect upon

¹³ *Mém. de Sully*, liv. xviii.

¹⁴ *Mém. de Sully*, liv. xviii.—Prefixe.—Matthieu.

the manners of the nation: it produced a licentious gallantry that infected all orders of men, and which only his heroic qualities could have counteracted, or prevented from degenerating into the most enervating sensuality¹⁵. It was productive, however, of consequences abundantly fatal. Four thousand French gentlemen are said to have been killed in single combats, chiefly arising from amorous quarrels, during the first eighteen years of Henry's reign¹⁶. "Having been long habituated to the sight of blood, and prodigal of his own," says Sully, "he could never be prevailed on strictly to enforce the laws against duelling."

15 Mém. de Sully, liv. xxv.—Galanteries des Rois de France.

16 Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de France.

LETTER LXXVI.

A general View of the Continent of Europe, from the Assassination of Henry IV. to the Treaty of Prague, in 1635.

THE greater part of the European continent during the period that followed the death of Henry IV., was a scene of anarchy, rebellion, and bloodshed. Germany continued for many years involved in those disputes which he was preparing to settle. Religious controversies, which generally mingle themselves with civil affairs, distracted the United Provinces, and robbed them of the sweets of that liberty which they had so gallantly earned by their valour and perseverance. And France, under the minority of Louis XIII., and the weak regency of his mother, Mary of Medicis, returned to that state of disorder and wretchedness, out of which it had been raised by the mild and equitable, but vigorous government of Henry the Great.

The transactions of this turbulent period, to the peace of Westphalia, when the harmony of the empire was established, and tranquillity, in some measure, restored to Europe, I propose to comprehend in two extensive sketches; and to prevent confusion, as well as to preserve the general effect, I shall be sparing in particulars. The consideration of the affairs of England, from the accession of the house of Stuart to the subversion of the monarchy, with the grand struggle between the king and parliament, and the narration of the complicated transactions on the continent during the reign of Louis XIV., whose

ambition gave birth to a series of wars, intrigues, and negotiations, unequalled in the history of mankind, I shall defer till you may be supposed to have digested the materials already before you; observing, in the mean time, that soon after the peace of Westphalia, which may be considered as the foundation of all subsequent treaties, society almost every where assumed its present form.—I must begin with a view of the troubles of Germany.

The two great confederacies, distinguished by the names of the Catholic League and Evangelical Union, which had threatened the empire with a furious civil war, appeared to be dissolved with the death of Henry IV. But the elector of Bradenburg and duke of Neuburg still maintained their claim to the succession of Cleves and Juliers; and being assisted by Maurice, prince of Orange, and some French troops, under the mareschal de la Chatre, they expelled Leopold, the sequestrator, and took possession by force of arms. They afterwards, however, disagreed between themselves, but were again reconciled from a sense of mutual interest. In this petty quarrel Spain and the United Provinces interested themselves, and the two greatest generals in Europe were once more opposed to each other;—Spinola on the part of the duke of Neuburg, who had renounced Lutheranism in order to procure the protection of his catholic majesty; and Maurice on the side of the elector of Bradenburg, who introduced Calvinism into his dominions, more strongly to attach the Dutch to his cause¹.

Rodolph II. died during this contest, and was succeeded by Matthias. The Protestants, to whom the arch-
 duke had been very indulgent, in order to accom-
 plish his ambitious views, no sooner saw him seated on the imperial throne, than they plied him with memorials, requiring an extension of their privileges, while the Catholics petitioned for new restrictions; and to complete his confusion, the Turks entered Transylvania. But the extent of the Ottoman dominions, which had so long given alarm to Christendom, on this, as well as on former occasions, proved its safety. The young and ambitious Ahmed, who seemed confident of the conquest of Hungary, was obliged to recal his forces from that quarter, to protect the eastern frontier of his empire; and Matthias obtained, without striking a blow, a peace as
 advantageous as he could have expected after the
 most successful war. He stipulated for the restitution of Agria, Pest, Buda, and every other place which the Turks held in Hungary².

¹ Mercur, Gallo, Belg. tome x. liv. iii.

² Heiss, liv. iii. chap. viii

Matthias now resolved to pull off the mask which he had so long worn on purpose to deceive the Protestants, and to convince them that he was their master. Meanwhile, as he was advancing in years, and declining in health, he procured, in order to strengthen his authority, his cousin Ferdinand de Gratz, duke of Stiria, whom he intended as his successor in the empire, to be elected king of Bohemia, and acknowledged in A. D. 1617. Hungary; and he engaged the Spanish branch of the house of Austria to renounce all pretensions which it could have to those crowns³.

This family compact alarmed the Protestant confederates, and occasioned a revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians. A. D. 1618. The malcontents in Hungary were soon pacified; but the Bohemian Protestants, whose privileges had been invaded, obstinately continued in arms, and were joined by those of Silesia, Moravia, and Upper Austria. The insurgents were headed by count de la Tour, a man of abilities, and supported by an army of German Protestants, under count Mansfeld, natural son of the distinguished general of that name, who was for a time governor of the Spanish Netherlands.—Thus was kindled a furious civil war, which desolated Germany for thirty years, interested all the powers of Europe, and was not finally extinguished before the peace of Westphalia.

Amidst these disorders died the emperor Matthias without being able to foresee the event of the struggle, or who should be his successor. The imperial dignity, however, was assigned according to his destination. Ferdinand de Gratz was raised to the vacant throne, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector Palatine and the states of Bohemia; and, with a less tyrannical disposition, he would have been worthy of that high station.

The election of Ferdinand II., instead of intimidating the Bohemians, roused them to more vigorous measures. They formally deposed him, and chose Frederic V., elector Palatine, for their king. Frederic, seduced by his flatterers, unwisely accepted the crown, notwithstanding the remonstrances of James I. of England, his father-in-law, who used all his influence in persuading him to reject it, and protested that he would give him no assistance in such a rash undertaking.

This measure confirmed the quarrel between Ferdinand and the Bohemians. Frederic was seconded by all the Protestant princes, except the elector of Saxony, who still adhered to the emperor, in hopes of obtaining the investiture of Cleves and Juliers. Bethlem Gabor, vaivode of Transylvania, also declared in favour of the Palatine; entered Hungary, made him-

self master of many places, and was proclaimed king by the Protestants of that country⁴.

Frederic was farther supported by two thousand four hundred English volunteers, whom James permitted to embark in a cause which he disapproved; and by a body of eight thousand men, under prince Henry of Nassau, from the United Provinces. But Ferdinand, assisted by the Catholic princes of the empire, by the king of Spain, and the archduke Albert, was more than a match for his enemies. Spinola led twenty-five thousand veterans from the Low Countries, and plundered the Palatine, in defiance of the English and Dutch; while Frederic himself, unable to protect his new kingdom of Bohemia, Nov. 8, 1620. was totally routed near Prague, by the imperial N. S. general Buquoy, and his own Catholic kinsman, the duke of Bavaria⁵.

The Palatine and his adherents were now put to the ban of the empire, and the Bohemian rebels being reduced, A.D. 1621. an army was despatched into Hungary against Beth-lem Gabor, who consented to resign his pretensions to that crown, on obtaining conditions otherwise advantageous. In the mean time the conquest of the Palatinate was completed by the Imperialists under count Tilly. Frederic was degraded from his electoral dignity, which was conferred on the duke of Bavaria; and his dominions were bestowed by Ferdinand, "in the fulness of his power," upon those who had helped to subdue them⁶.

While the house of Austria was thus extending its authority in Germany, a project no less ambitious than bloody, was concerted for rendering the Spanish branch of that family absolute in Italy. The duke d'Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, the marquis de Villa Franca, governor of Milan, and the marquis of Bedomar, the Spanish ambassador at Venice, conspired to subject the Venetians, and with them the rest of the Italian states, to the arbitrary sway of their master. For this purpose they had formed a horrid plot, which, if it had not been seasonably detected, would have put them in possession of Venice. That city was to have been set on fire in different parts, by a band of ruffians already lodged within its walls; while a body of troops, sent from Milan, should attack it on one side, and some armed vessels from Naples on the other. But this atrocious design was discovered by the vigilance of the senate in 1618, when it was almost ripe for execution. The majority of the conspirators were privately drowned; and Bedomar, who had

⁴ Barre, Hist. d'Allemagne, tome ii.

⁶ Barre, tome ix.

⁵ Heiss, liv. iii. chap. ix.

violated the law of nations, being secretly conducted out of the city, was glad to make his escape⁷.

A project was formed in the sequel, for extending the Spanish dominions in Italy, by the duke of Feria, who had succeeded the marquis de Villa Franca in the government of Milan. He encouraged the Popish inhabitants of the Valteline to revolt from the Grisons: and the king of Spain, as protector of the Catholic faith, supported them in their rebellion. The situation of the Valteline rendered it of infinite importance, as it facilitated the correspondence between the two branches of the house of Austria, shut the Swiss out of Italy, kept the Venetians in awe, and was a bridle on all the Italian states.

March 31, N. S. In the midst of these ambitious schemes (to which of himself he was little inclined) the king of Spain died. Philip IV., his son and successor, was a prince of a more enterprising disposition; and the abilities of Olivarez, the new minister, were far superior to those of the duke of Lerma, who had directed the measures of government during the greater part of the former reign. The ambition of Olivarez was yet more lofty than his capacity. He made his master assume the surname of Great, as soon as he ascended the throne, and thought himself bound to justify the appellation. He hoped to raise the house of Austria to that absolute dominion in Europe, for which it had been so long struggling. In prosecution of this bold plan, he resolved to maintain the closest alliance with the emperor; to make him despotic in Germany; to keep possession of the Valteline; to humble the Italian powers, and reduce the United Provinces to subjection, as the truce had now expired⁸.

Nor was this project so chimerical as it may at first sight appear. The emperor had already crushed the force of the Protestant league; France was distracted by civil wars, and England was amused by a matrimonial treaty between the prince of Wales and the infanta, which, more than every other consideration, prevented James from taking any material step in favour of the Palatine, till he was stripped of his dominions. But France, though internally agitated, was not lost to all sense of external danger; and the match with the infanta being broken off, by a quarrel between the English and Spanish ministers, an alliance was formed between France and
A. D. 1624. England, in conjunction with the United Provinces, for restraining the ambition of the house of Austria, and recovering the Palatinate⁹.—The affairs of Holland now demand our attention.

⁷ St. Real, *Conjuration des Espagnols*.—Batt. Nani, *Hist. della Repubblica Veneta*.

⁸ *Anecdotes d'Olivar.*

⁹ Rushworth.—Clarendon.

After the truce of 1609, the United Provinces, as I have already noticed, became a prey to religious dissensions. Gomar and Arminius, two professors at Leyden, differed on some abstract points in theology, and their opinions divided the republic. Gomar maintained, in all their austerity, the doctrines of Calvin in regard to grace and predestination; Arminius endeavoured to soften them. The Gomarists, who composed the body of the people, ever carried toward enthusiasm, were headed by prince Maurice; the Arminians, by the pensionary Barneveldt, a firm patriot, who had been chiefly instrumental in negotiating the late truce, in opposition to the house of Orange. The Arminian principles were defended by Grotius, Vossius, and the learned in general. But prince Maurice and the Gomarists at last prevailed. The Arminian preachers were banished, and Barneveldt was brought to the block in 1619, for "vexing the church of God" (as his sentence imported), at the age of seventy-two years, and after he had served the republic forty years in the cabinet, with as much success as Maurice had in the field. He was a man of eminent abilities and incorruptible integrity, and had espoused the cause of the Arminians chiefly from a persuasion that Maurice intended to make use of his popularity with the Gomarists, and of their hatred of the other sect, in order to enslave that people whom he had so gloriously defended against the tyranny of Spain¹⁰.

This opinion appears to have been well founded: for Maurice, during these religious commotions, frequently violated the rights of the republic; and so vigorous an opposition was necessary to prevent him from overturning its liberties. The ardour of ambition at once withered his well earned laurels and disappointed itself. The death of Barneveldt opened the eyes of the people. They saw their danger, and the iniquity of the sentence, notwithstanding their religious prejudices. Maurice was detested as a tyrant at the very time that he hoped to be received as a sovereign. The deliverer of his country, when he went abroad, was saluted with groans and murmurs; and, as he passed, the name of Barneveldt sounded in his ears from every street.

But, amid all their civil and religious dissensions, the Dutch were extending their commerce and their conquests in both extremities of the globe. The city of Batavia was founded, and the plan of an empire laid in the East Indies, infinitely superior in wealth, power, and grandeur, to the United Provinces. They had already cast their eyes on Brasil, which they conquered soon after the expiration of the truce; and they carried on a lucrative trade with the European settlements in the West Indies. The prospect of hostilities with their ancient masters com-

posed their domestic animosities. They dismissed their jealousy of Maurice, as he seemed to relinquish his ambitious views. Every one was zealous to oppose and annoy the common enemy; and Spinola was obliged, by his old antagonist, to relinquish the siege of Bergen-op-zoom, in 1622, after having lost ten thousand of his best troops in the enterprise¹¹.

In France, during this period, both civil and religious disputes were carried much higher than in Holland. Louis XIII., being a minor when Henry IV. was murdered, Mary of Medicis, the queen-mother, was chosen regent. New counsels were immediately adopted, and the sage maxims of Sully despised. He therefore resigned his employments, and retired from court. The regent was entirely guided by her Italian favourites, Concini and his wife Galligai. By them, in concert with the pope and the duke of Florence, was negotiated, in 1612, an union between France and Spain, by means of a double marriage; of Louis with Anne of Austria, the eldest infanta; and of Elizabeth the king's sister, with the prince of Asturias, afterwards Philip IV. The dissolution of the alliances formed under the late reign, and the ruin of the Protestants, were also among the projects of Mary's Italian ministers¹².

The nobility, dissatisfied with the measures of the court, and with the favour shewn to foreigners, entered into cabals: they revolted in 1613; and the treasures collected by Henry in order to humble the house of Austria, were employed by a weak administration to appease those factious leaders. The prince of Condé, who had headed the former faction, revolted anew in 1615. He and his adherents were again gratified, at the expense of the public; and, fresh intrigues being suspected, he was sent to the Bastile.

The imprisonment of the prince of Condé alarmed many of the nobles, who retired from court, and prepared for their defence; or, in other words, for hostilities. Meanwhile Concini, who still maintained his influence, received a blow from a quarter whence he little expected it. Luines, who had originally recommended himself to the young king's favour by rearing and training birds for his amusement, found means to make him jealous of his authority. He dwelt on the ambition of the queen-mother, and the mal-administration of her foreign favourites, to whom the most important affairs of state were committed, and whose insolence, he affirmed, had occasioned all the dissatisfaction among the great¹³.

Louis, struck with the picture set before him, and desirous of seizing the reins of government, immediately ordered Concini

¹¹ Neuville, Hist. d'Hollande.

¹² Dupleix.—Mezeray.

¹³ Mem. des Affaires de France, depuis 1610, jusqu'à 1620.

to be arrested ; and Vitri, captain of the guards, to whom that service was entrusted, executed it, in 1617, entirely to the wish of Luines. Concini was shot, under pretence of resistance. The sentence of treason was passed on his memory ; and Galligai, his widow, being accused of sorcery and magic, was condemned by the parliament to suffer death, for treason *divine* and *human*. When asked what spell she had used to fascinate the queen-mother, she magnanimously replied, “ that influence which a superior mind has over a feeble spirit ! ” The regent was confined for a time to her apartment, and afterwards exiled to Blois¹⁴.

The indignation which Concini and his wife had excited was soon transferred to Luines, enriched by their immense spoils, and who engrossed in a still higher degree the royal favour. His avarice and ambition knew no bounds. From a page and gentleman of the bed-chamber, he became, in rapid succession, a mareschal, duke, and peer of France ; constable, and keeper of the seals. In the mean time a conspiracy was formed for the release of the queen-mother, and carried into execution by the duke d’Espéron, whose power at first exalted her to the regency. The court, for a time, talked loudly of violent measures : but it was judged proper, in 1619, to conclude a treaty advantageous to the malcontents, and avoid proceeding to extremities. This lenity encouraged Mary to enter into fresh cabals ; and a new treaty was agreed to by the court, no less indulgent than the former¹⁵.

These cabals in opposition to the court were chiefly conducted by Richelieu, bishop of Luçon. He had risen to notice through the influence of Galligai : he had been disgraced with the queen-mother, and with her he returned into favour, as well as consequence. At her solicitation he obtained a cardinal’s hat, a seat in the council, and soon after, a share in the administration¹⁶. But hypocrisy was necessary to conceal, for a season, from envy and jealousy, those transcendent abilities which were one day to astonish Europe.

A new civil war soon arose, more violent than any of the former. Louis having united, by a solemn edict, the principality of Bearn, the hereditary estate of the family, to the crown of France, in 1620, attempted to re-establish the Catholic religion in that province, where there were no Catholics¹⁷, and to restore to the clergy the church lands, contrary to the stipulations of Henry IV. The Huguenots, alarmed at the impending danger, assembled at Rochelle, in contempt of the king’s prohibition : and concluding that their final destruction was resolved

14 Mezeray.

16 Aubert, Hist. du Card. Rich.

15 Mezeray.—Vie du Duc d’Espéron.

17 Puleix, Hist. de Louis XIII.

upon, they determined to throw off the royal authority, and establish a republic, after the example of the Protestants in the Low Countries, for the protection of their civil and religious liberties. Rochelle was to be the capital of the new commonwealth, which would have formed a separate state within the kingdom of France¹⁸.

The constable Luines, equally ignorant and presumptuous, imagining he could subdue this formidable party, immediately had recourse to arms. Nor was intrigue neglected. After seducing, by bribes and promises, several of the Protestant leaders, among whom was the duke of Bouillon, and reducing some inconsiderable places, the king and Luines laid siege to Montauban in 1621. The royal army consisted of twenty-five thousand men, animated by the presence of their sovereign; but the place was so gallantly defended by the marquis de la Force, that Louis and his favourite, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, were obliged to abandon the enterprise. Luines died soon after this shameful expedition; and the brave and ambitious Lesdiguières, who had already deserted the Huguenots, and solemnly renounced Calvinism, was honoured with the constable's sword¹⁹.

The loss which the Protestant cause sustained by the apostacy of Lesdiguières, and by the defection of the duke of Bouillon, was compensated by the zeal and abilities of the duke of Rohan and his brother Soubise: men not inferior (especially the duke), either in civil or military talents, to any of the age in which they lived. Soubise, however, was defeated by the king in person, who continued to carry on the war with vigour. But the duke still kept the field; and Louis having invested Montpellier, which defended itself as gallantly as Montauban, peace was concluded with the Huguenots, in 1622, to prevent a second disgrace. They obtained a confirmation of the edict of Nantes: and the duke of Rohan, who negotiated the treaty, was gratified to the utmost of his wish²⁰.

The French councils now began to assume greater vigour. Cardinal Richelieu, who succeeded Luines as prime minister, formed three important projects. He resolved to subdue the turbulent spirit of the French nobility, to reduce the rebellious Huguenots, and to curb the encroaching power of the house of Austria. But in order to carry these great designs into execution, it was necessary to preserve peace with England. This Richelieu perceived; and accordingly concluded, in spite of the courts of Rome and Madrid, a treaty of marriage between Charles prince of Wales and Henrietta of France, sister of

18 *Ibid.*

19 *Hist du Connétable de Lesdig.*

20 *Mém. du Duc de Rohan.*

Louis. He also negotiated between the two crowns, in conjunction with the United Provinces, that alliance which I have already noticed, and which brought on hostilities with Spain.

In consequence of these negotiations, six thousand men were sent from England to Holland, commanded by four young noblemen, who were ambitious of distinguishing themselves in so popular a cause, and of acquiring military experience under so renowned a captain as Maurice. Count Mansfeld was engaged in the English service ; and twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, under his command, embarked at Dover, in order to join the league formed in Lower Saxony for the restoration of the Palatine, of which Christian IV., king of Denmark, was declared chief. About the same time a French army, A. D. 1625. in concert with the Venetians and the duke of Savoy, recovered the Valteline, and restored it to the Grisons.

The house of Austria was not less active than its enemies. Spinola reduced Breda, one of the strongest towns in the Netherlands, in spite of all the efforts of prince Maurice, who died of chagrin before the place surrendered. The English failed in an attempt upon Cadiz : the embarkation under count Mansfeld proved abortive ; and the king of Denmark was A. D. 1626. defeated by the imperialists near Northheim.

The miscarriages of the English cooled their ardour for foreign enterprises ; and cardinal Richelieu found, for a time, sufficient business to occupy his genius at home. He had not only to pacify the Huguenots, who had again rebelled, and to whom he found it necessary to grant advantageous conditions, but he had a powerful faction at court to oppose. Not one prince of the blood was heartily his friend. Gaston duke of Orléans, the king's brother, was his declared enemy ; the queen-mother herself had become jealous of him ; and Louis was more attached to him from fear than affection. But this bold and ambitious spirit triumphed over every obstacle ; it discovered and dissipated all the conspiracies formed against him, and at length made him absolute master of the king and kingdom.

During these cabals in the French cabinet, the Huguenots showed once more a disposition to render themselves independent : and in that spirit they were encouraged by the court of England, which voluntarily took up arms in their cause. The reason assigned by some historians for this step is very singular.

As Louis XIII. was wholly governed by cardinal Richelieu, and Philip IV. by Olivarez, Charles I. was in like manner governed by the duke of Buckingham, the handsomest and most pompous man of his time, but not the deepest politician. He was naturally amorous, bold, and presumptuous ; and when em-

ployed to bring over the princess Henrietta, he is said to have carried his addresses even to the queen of France. The return which he met with from Anne of Austria, whose complexion was as amorous as his own, encouraged him to project a new embassy to the court of Versailles; but Richelieu, reported to have been his rival in love as well as in politics, advised Louis to prohibit the journey. Buckingham, in a romantic passion, swore he would "see the queen, in spite of all the power of France²¹;" and hence is supposed to have originated the war in which he involved his master.

Rash and impetuous, however, as Buckingham, was, he appears to have had better reasons for that measure. Richelieu was still meditating the destruction of the Huguenots: they had been deprived of some of their cautionary towns; and he had ordered the erection of forts, in order to bridle Rochelle, their most considerable bulwark. If the Protestant party should be utterly subdued, France would soon become formidable to England. This consideration was of itself sufficient to induce Buckingham to undertake the defence of the Huguenots.

But independently of such political forecast, and of his amorous quarrel with Richelieu, the English minister had powerful motives for such a measure. That profound statesman had engaged the duke to send some ships to act against the Rochelle fleet, under a promise that, after the humiliation of the Huguenots, France should take an active part in the war between England and Spain. This ill judged compliance roused the resentment of the English commons against Buckingham, and had been made one of the grounds of an impeachment. He then changed his plan, and procured a peace for the Huguenots; and finding that the cardinal would neither concur with him in the war against Spain, nor observe the treaty with the reformed party, he had no other course left for recovering his credit with the parliament and people (especially after the miscarriage of the expedition against Cadiz) but to take arms against the court of France, in vindication of the rights of the French Protestants²².

The duke's views, in undertaking this war, are less censurable than his conduct in carrying them into execution. He appeared before Rochelle with a fleet of a hundred sail, A. D. 1627. and an army of seven thousand men; but so ill-concerted were his measures, that the inhabitants of that city shut their gates against him, and refused to admit allies of whose coming they were not previously informed²³. They were but a part of the Protestant body, they observed, and must consult

²¹ Clarendon's Hist. vol. i.—Mém. de Mad. de Motteville, tome i.

²² Clarendon.—Dupleix.

²³ Rushworth, vol. i.

their brethren before they could take such a step. This blunder was followed by another. Instead of attacking Oleron, a fertile island, and defenceless, Buckingham made a descent on the Isle of Rhé, which was well garrisoned and fortified. All his military operations showed equal incapacity and inexperience. He left behind him the small fort of Prie, which covered the landing-place; he allowed Thoiras, the governor, to amuse him with a deceitful negotiation, till St. Martin, the principal fort, was provided for a siege; he attacked it before he had made any breach, and rashly threw away the lives of his soldiers; and he so negligently guarded the sea, that a French army stole over in small divisions, and obliged him to retreat to his ships. He was himself the last man that embarked; and having lost two-thirds of his land forces, he returned to England, totally discredited both as an admiral and a general, bringing home with him no reputation but that of personal courage²⁴.

This ill-concerted and ill-conducted enterprise proved fatal to Rochelle and to the power of the French Protestants. Richelieu, under pretence of guarding the coast against the English, sent a body of troops into the neighbourhood, and ordered quarters to be marked out for twenty-five thousand men. The siege of Rochelle was regularly formed and conducted with vigour by the king, and even by the cardinal in person. Neither the duke of Rohan nor Soubise were in the place; yet the citizens, animated by civil and religious zeal, and abundantly provided with military stores, were determined to defend themselves to extremity. Under the command of Guiton, their mayor, a man of experience and fortitude, they made an obstinate resistance, and baffled all attempts to reduce the city by force. But the bold genius of Richelieu, which led him to plan the greatest undertakings, also suggested means, equally great and extraordinary, for their execution. Finding it impossible to take Rochelle while the communication remained open by sea, he attempted to shut the harbour by stakes, and by a boom. Both these methods, however, proving ineffectual, he recollected what Alexander had performed at the siege of Tyre, and projected and finished a mole of a mile's length, across a gulf, into which the sea rolled with an impetuosity that seemed to bid defiance to all the works of man. The place being now completely blockaded, and every attempt for its relief failing, the inhabitants were obliged to surrender, after suffering all the miseries of war and famine, during a siege of twelve months. They were deprived of their extensive privi-

A. D. 1628.

leges, and their fortifications were destroyed ; but they were allowed to retain possession of their goods, and to enjoy the free exercise of their religion²⁵.

Richelieu did not stop in the middle of his career. He marched immediately towards the other provinces, where the Protestants possessed many cautionary towns, and were still formidable by their numbers. The duke of Rohan defended himself with vigour in Languedoc; but seeing no hopes of being able to continue the struggle, as England, his only natural ally, had already concluded a peace with France and Spain, he at last
A. D. 1629. had recourse to negotiation, and obtained favourable conditions both for himself and his party. The Protestants were left in possession of their estates, of the free exercise of their religion, and of all the privileges granted by the edict of Nantes; but they were deprived of their fortifications or cautionary towns, as dangerous to the peace of the state²⁶.

From this æra we may date the aggrandisement of the French monarchy, in latter times, as well as the absolute dominion of the prince. The authority which Louis XI. had acquired over the great, and which was preserved by his immediate successors, had been lost during the religious wars : which raised up in the Huguenots a new power, that almost divided the strength of the kingdom, and at once exposed it to foreign enemies and domestic factions. But no sooner was this formidable body humbled, and every order of the state, and every sect, reduced to pay submission to the lawful authority of the sovereign, than France began to take the lead in the affairs of Europe, and her independent nobles to sink into the condition of servants of the court.

The cardinal's system, however, though so far advanced, was not yet complete. But the whole was still in contemplation : nor did he ever lose sight of one circumstance that could forward its progress. No sooner had he subdued the Protestants in France than he resolved to support them in Germany, that he might be enabled, by their means, more effectually to set bounds to the ambition of the house of Austria. And never was the power of that house more formidable, or more dangerous to the liberties of Europe.

Ferdinand II., whom we have seen triumphant over the Palatine and the Protestant confederates, continued to carry every thing before him in Germany. The king of Denmark, and his allies in Lower Saxony, were unable to withstand Tilly and Wallestein. After repeated defeats and losses, Christian was

25 Mém. du Duc de Rohan.

26 Auberi, Mém. de Rohan.

obliged to sue for peace; and the emperor found himself, at length, possessed of absolute authority²⁷.

But, fortunately for mankind, Ferdinand's ambition undid itself, and saved Europe, as well as the empire, from that despotism with which they were threatened. Not satisfied with an uncontrolled sway over Germany, he attempted to revive the imperial jurisdiction in Italy. Vincent II., duke of Mantua and Montferrat, having died without issue, Charles de Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, claimed the succession, in virtue of a matrimonial contract, as well as by the right of consanguinity. But Cæsar de Gonzaga, duke of Guastella, had already received, from the emperor, the investiture of those ancient fiefs. The duke of Savoy, a third pretender, would have supplanted the two former; and the king of Spain hoped to exclude all three, under pretence of supporting the last. Ferdinand's desire of aggrandising the house of Austria was well known, as well as his scheme of extending the imperial jurisdiction: and both became now more evident. He put the disputed territories in sequestration, till the cause should be decided at Vienna: and while the Spaniards and the duke of Savoy ravaged Montferrat, a German army pillaged the city of Mantua²⁸.

Ferdinand now thought the time was coming for realising that idea which he had long revolved, of reducing the electoral princes to the condition of *grandees* of Spain, and the bishops to the state of imperial chaplains. Sensible, however, of the danger of alarming both religions at once, he resolved to begin with the Protestants; and accordingly issued an edict, ordering them to restore, without loss of time, all the benefices and church lands which they had enjoyed since the peace of Passau²⁹.

But it was more easy to issue such an edict than to carry it into execution; and Ferdinand, though possessed of an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, under two of the ablest generals in Europe, found reason to repent of his temerity. France gave the first check to his ambition. Richelieu had early interested himself in the affairs of Mantua: Louis, in person, had forced the pass of Susa; and, on the conclusion of peace with the Huguenots, the cardinal crossed the Alps at the head of twenty thousand men, gained several advantages over the Spaniards and imperialists, chased the duke of Savoy from his dominions, and obliged the emperor to grant the investiture of Mantua and Montferrat to the duke of Nevers³⁰. The duke of Savoy now died of chagrin; and the

²⁷ Barre, tome ix.—*Annal de l'Emp.* tome ii ²⁸ Niger, *Disquisit. de Mant. Ducat.*

²⁹ Barre, *ubi sup.*—Barchel, p. 185.—Puffend. *Comment. de Reb. Succ.* lib. i.

³⁰ Auberj, *Hist. du. Card. Rich.*

death of Spinola, who had failed to reduce the citadel of Casal, and thought himself neglected by the Spanish court, is also supposed to have been hastened by uneasy reflections. The accommodation between Louis and the emperor, which terminated this war, was partly negotiated by Julius Mazarine, who now first appeared on the theatre of the world as a priest and politician, having formerly been a captain of horse.

Meanwhile the elector of Saxony, and other princes of the Augsburg Confession, remonstrated against the edict of *Restitution*: they maintained that the emperor had no right to command such restitution, which ought to be made the subject of deliberation in a general diet. A diet was accordingly convoked at Ratisbon; and the greater part of the Catholic princes exhorted the emperor to quiet the Protestants, by granting them, for a term of forty years, the enjoyment of such benefices as they had possessed since the treaty of Passau. But this advice being vigorously opposed by the ecclesiastical electors, who made use of arguments more agreeable to the views of Ferdinand, he continued obstinate in his purpose; and the Protestants, to save themselves from that robbery with which they were threatened, and which was already begun in many places, secretly formed an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden³¹. But, before I introduce this extraordinary man, we must take a retrospective view of Poland and the northern states.

The first two Sigismunds, kings of Poland, were respectable princes; but the character of the former was more brilliant than that of his successor, though not more worthy of the praise of the discerning. While the armistice subsisted with Russia, Sigismund II. died, in 1572, after having endeared himself to his subjects by his virtues and his patriotism. Nine candidates offered themselves for the vacant throne. The competitor whom the diet preferred was Henry duke of Anjou, who was crowned at Cracow amidst the general joy of the Poles: but their satisfaction, in all probability, would not have been permanent, if he had continued to act as king. He was soon recalled to France by the death of his brother; and the diet, resenting his precipitate and clandestine retreat, and reprobating his intention of governing Poland by a deputy, solemnly deposed him. One party then voted that the emperor Maximilian should be king of Poland; but the majority of the nation favoured the election of Stephen Bathori, a man of extraordinary merit, who had raised himself from a private station to the sovereignty of Transylvania. Stephen quelled a revolt of the city of Dantzic; rescued Livonia from the hands of the Russians; civilised in a great measure the Cossacks of the Ukraine; and swayed his domi-

³¹ Pufend. ubi sup.—Barre, tome ix.

nions with ability and justice. After his death Sigismund, son of John III. of Sweden, was elected by one party, in 1587, and the archduke Maximilian, brother of Rodolphus II., by another; but the former prevailed by the efficacy of arms³².

The reign of Sigismund III. was long and active. His first care was the repression of that corrupt and venal spirit which had diffused itself through the nation, and of those licentious practices which were productive of frequent mischief. He afterwards engaged in a war with the Tartars, by whom his Cossack subjects were at first defeated; but when the celebrated Zamoski took the field against the enemy, he obtained a signal victory over a great superiority of number. Encouraged by this success, the Cossacks furiously ravaged Little Tartary, and ventured to pillage some Turkish vessels on the coast of the Black Sea. The soltan Morad III., incensed at this outrage, denounced vengeance, and sent an army towards Poland; but when he found that the king had not authorised the hostilities of which the Turks complained, he agreed to a treaty of peace³³.

On the decease of his father, Sigismund repaired to Sweden to receive the crown. The successor of Gustavus Vasa, on the throne of that kingdom, was Eric XIV., whose licentiousness and tyranny, though he was a prince of some merit and accomplishments, subjected him, in 1568, to the misfortune and the stigma of solemn deposition. John III. was the next Swedish monarch. He concluded a dishonourable peace with the Danes; carried on a war against the Russians with various success; and, in 1592, fell a victim to the ignorance of his medical attendants. His son Sigismund soon rendered himself unpopular among the Swedes, by his partiality to the Romish faith. He promised to submit to such restrictions as would preclude all injury to the Protestant establishment; but, as he disregarded all promises of this kind, he became the object of strong suspicion and resentment. His uncle Charles fomented the discontent of the Swedes; and, being entrusted with the regency on the return of Sigismund to Poland, he resolved to embrace the first opportunity of usurpation. After some years of commotion, open hostilities arose between the adherents of the king and the partisans of the regent; and, in 1604, the latter acquired the sovereignty of Sweden, under the appellation of Charles IX³⁴.

Sigismund strenuously exerted himself for the recovery of the Swedish crown; but his attempts were frustrated by the vigour and policy of his uncle. He retook, however, those towns and fortresses which the Swedes had reduced in Livonia, where.

32 Barre, tome ix.—Heidenst. Hist. Rerum. Polon.

33 Hartnoch, lib. i.—Heidenst.

34 Loeven. lib. vii.—Pufendorf.

among other incidents, an obstinate battle occurred, in which the valour of the Polanders, directed by the skill and judgment of Chotkiewitz, gratified Sigismund with a complete victory. He then directed his attention toward Russia, which was in a state of disorder and confusion.

The grand duke or czar, John Basilowitz II. having occasioned by a violent blow the death of his eldest son, left only two sons when he died in 1584, of whom one was an infant. The incapacity of Theodore, the elder of the surviving princes, had induced John to select three of his *boyars*, or nobles, for the administration of the public affairs in the name of the youth; but Boris, brother-in-law to the new czar, gradually seized the whole power of the state, and acted in many instances with inhuman violence. He even murdered Demetrius, the brother of Theodore, and perhaps hastened the dissolution of the czar himself, who died in 1598. Boris took this opportunity of mounting the throne, to which he had paved his way by some popular acts. He continued to govern with a mixture of rigour and lenity; and his name was not unknown among the sovereigns of Europe, when his government was disturbed by the boldness of an ambitious monk, who, happening to resemble the unfortunate Demetrius, pretended that he had escaped the snares of the usurper, by the substitution of another youth. The adventurer was encouraged in his views by Sigismund, who promised to assist him in procuring the Russian diadem; and being furnished with an army, he defeated the troops of Boris, who, in a moment of despair, poisoned himself, or, as others say, was thrown by a transport of passion into an apoplectic fit. The usurper's son was now placed on the throne, but was quickly driven from it by the impostor, who (in 1605) was proclaimed czar with the general consent of the people, many of whom believed him to be the true Demetrius³⁵.

If the adventurer had acted with prudence and discretion, he would probably have long preserved the power which he had so rapidly acquired. But he excited disgust by his uniform preference of the Polanders to his countrymen, his contempt of the Russian religion and manners, and his occasional acts of tyranny; and he lost his life in 1606, in a tumult at Moscow, where a great number of his foreign partisans were also massacred. Zuski, or Schuiskoy, his chief adversary, was permitted by the boyars to succeed him as grand duke; but his administration was not attended with public tranquillity. A new impostor appeared, alleging that he was the czar, and had escaped the massacre. This pretender did not long flourish, being killed by some Tartars: but a more formidable rival to Schuiskoy soon presented

³⁵ Tooke's History of Russia, vol. i.

himself. This was Ladislaus (the son of Sigismund), who, when Smolensko and other considerable towns had been reduced by the Poles, was acknowledged as czar in 1610, by a great part of the nation; while Schuiskoy, degraded by tonsure and the cowl, was delivered up to the invaders, and thrown into a dungeon from which he never emerged³⁶.

The Russians did not long submit with patience to the Polish yoke. The haughty subjects of Sigismund committed many outrages, which the Moscovites indignantly resented. Sanguinary broils convulsed the provinces; and in the capital, which the Poles pillaged and burned, many thousands of the inhabitants were sacrificed.

Charles IX. of Sweden had so far profited by these disturbances as to obtain possession of Kexholm and Novogorod; and he even conceived the hope of procuring the Russian crown for one of his sons, if not for himself: but he died in the prosecution of his scheme in 1611: and his crown was bestowed on his son Gustavus Adolphus, without the least regard to the preferable claim of Sigismund.

The Danes did not interfere in the disordered concerns of Russia. That nation, on the death of Christian III., had received his son Frederic II. as its sovereign, who, in 1559, subdued the Dithmarsians, a brave people of Holstein. He was for some years at war with the Swedes, against whom he was more successful than unfortunate. He was a wise and patriotic prince, and a friend to the arts and sciences. He was succeeded in 1588 by Christian IV., who, after a long interval of peace, attacked the Swedes in 1611, took Calmar by assault, and cruelly massacred the inhabitants. Peace was restored in 1613; and, in the same year, the Russians endeavoured to re-establish tranquillity in their country by the deliberate election of a new czar. Michael Romanoff, a promising youth of seventeen years of age, distantly related to the house of Ruric, was the object of general choice; and neither the Swedes nor the Poles could drive him from the throne. Gustavus Adolphus, after some fruitless attempts for that purpose, agreed to a pacification with the czar; and Sigismund at length followed his example³⁷.

By assisting Gabriel Bathori, whom the celebrated Bethlen Gabor had dispossessed of Transylvania, and by other acts of interference which displeased the Porte, Sigismund exposed himself to the arms of Othman II., who, after his troops had been shamefully defeated by a small army under Zolkiewski, took the field in person with an immense force in 1621, and

³⁶ La Combe, *Hist. des Révolutions de l'Empire de Russie*.—Tooke, vol. i.

³⁷ La Combe.—Pufendorf.

assaulted the Polish entrenchments on the banks of the Niester, but was repelled with the loss of about thirty thousand men. The discouraged soltan now proposed an armistice, to which his adversary readily assented³⁸.

Gustavus Adolphus was a minor by the law of Sweden when he ascended the throne; but he was permitted by the states of the realm to assume the personal exercise of government. He soon signalised himself by his exploits against the Danes, the ancient enemies of his crown. Profiting afterward by peace, which he had found necessary, he applied himself to the study of civil affairs; and, in the course of a wise and vigorous administration, supported by salutary laws, he reformed many public abuses, improved the state of the community, and increased the respectability of the realm. His cousin Sigismund treated him as an usurper, and refusing peace, when offered by Gustavus, he overran Livonia, Prussia, and Lithuania³⁹. An advantageous truce of six years, concluded with Poland, in 1629, gave him leisure to take part in the affairs of Germany, and to exhibit more fully those heroic qualities which will ever be the admiration of mankind.

Gustavus had various reasons for making war against the emperor. Ferdinand had assisted his enemy, the king of Poland; he treated the Swedish ambassador with disrespect; and he had formed a project for extending his dominion over the Baltic. If the king of Sweden should look tamely on, till the German princes were finally subjected, the independence of the northern kingdoms, he thought, would be exposed to great danger.

But the motives which chiefly induced Gustavus to take arms against the head of the empire were the love of glory and zeal for the Protestant religion. These, however, did not transport him beyond the bounds of prudence. He imparted his design to the states of Sweden; and he negotiated with France, England, and Holland, before he began his march. Charles I., still desirous of the restoration of the Palatine, agreed to send the king of Sweden six thousand men. These troops were raised in the name of the marquis of Hamilton, and supposed to be

³⁸ Bizardière.

³⁹ Loccen. lib. viii.—Pufend. lib. ii.—During this war, the practice of duelling rose to such a height, both among officers and private men, that Gustavus published a severe edict, denouncing death against every offender: and by a strict execution of that edict the evil was effectually removed. (Harte's Life of Gustavus, vol. i.) When two of the generals demanded permission to decide a quarrel by the sword, he gave a seeming consent, and told them he would himself be an eye-witness of their valour and prowess. He accordingly appeared on the ground, but was accompanied by the public executioner, who had orders to cut off the head of the conqueror. The high-spirited combatants, subdued by such firmness, fell on their knees at the king's feet; were ordered to embrace, and continued friends to the end of their lives. Scheffer, Memorand. Suec. Gent.

maintained by that nobleman, that the appearance of neutrality might be preserved⁴⁰. The people were more forward than the king. The flower of Gustavus's army, and many of his best officers, by the time he entered Germany, consisted of Scottish and English adventurers, who thronged over to support the Protestant cause, and to seek renown under the champion of their religion⁴¹; so that the conquests even of this illustrious hero may partly be ascribed to British valour and British sagacity!

The most necessary supply, however, that Gustavus received was an annual subsidy from Cardinal Richelieu of twelve hundred thousand livres; a small sum in our days, but considerable at that time, especially in a country where the precious metals are still scarce. The treaty between France and Sweden is a master-piece in politics. Gustavus agreed, in consideration of the stipulated subsidy, to maintain in Germany an army of thirty-six thousand men; bound A. D. 1631. himself to observe a strict neutrality toward the duke of Bavaria, and all the princes of the Catholic league, on condition that they should not join the emperor against the Swedes; and to preserve the rights of the Romish church, wherever he should find it established⁴². By these ingenious stipulations, which do so much honour to the genius of Richelieu, the Catholic princes were not only freed from all alarm on the score of religion, but furnished with a pretext for withholding their assistance from the emperor, as a step which would expose them to the arms of Sweden.

Gustavus had entered Pomerania when this treaty was concluded, and soon after made himself master of Colberg, Frankfurt upon the Oder, and several other important places. The Protestant princes, however, were still backward in declaring themselves, lest they should be separately crushed by the imperial power, before the king of Sweden could march to their assistance. In order to put an end to this irresolution, Gustavus summoned the elector of Brandenburg to declare himself openly in three days; and on receiving an evasive answer, he marched directly to Berlin. This spirited conduct had the desired effect: the gates were thrown open, and the king was received as a friend. He was soon after joined by the landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony, who, being persecuted by the Catholic confederates, put themselves under his protection. He now marched towards Leipsic, where Tilly lay encamped. That experienced general advanced Sept. 7. N. S.

⁴⁰ Rushworth, vol. i.

⁴¹ Burnet's Mem. of the House of Hamilton, vol. i.

⁴² Londorp. Act. Pub. vol. iv.

into the plain of Breitenfeld to meet his antagonist, at the head of thirty thousand veterans. The king's army consisted nearly of an equal number of men ; but the Saxon auxiliaries, being raw and undisciplined, fled at the first onset; yet did Gustavus, by his superior conduct, and the superior prowess of the Swedes, obtain a complete victory over Tilly and the imperialists⁴³.

This blow threw Ferdinand into the utmost consternation ; and, if the king of Sweden had marched immediately to Vienna, it is supposed that he could have made himself master of that capital. But it is impossible for human foresight to discern all the advantages that may be reaped from a great stroke of good fortune. Hannibal wasted his time at Capua, after the battle of Cannæ, when he might have led his victorious army to Rome ; and Gustavus Adolphus, instead of besieging Vienna, or ravaging the emperor's hereditary dominions, took a different route, and had the satisfaction of erecting a column on the opposite bank of the Rhine, in order to perpetuate the progress of his arms⁴⁴.

The consequences of the battle of Leipsic, however, were great ; nor did Gustavus fail to improve that victory which he had so gloriously earned. He was instantly joined by all the members of the Evangelical Union, whom his success had inspired with courage. The measures of the catholic confederates were utterly disconcerted ; and the king of Sweden made himself master of the whole country from the Elbe to the Rhine—a space of about ninety leagues, abounding with fortified towns.

The elector of Saxony, in the mean time entered Bohemia, and took Prague. Count Tilly was killed in April 15, 1632. disputing with the Swedes the passage of the N. S. Lech ; and Gustavus, who by that passage

gained immortal honour, soon after reduced Augsburg, and there re-established the Protestant religion. He then marched into Bavaria, where he found the gates of almost every city thrown open on his approach. He entered the capital in triumph, and there had an opportunity of displaying the liberality of his mind. When pressed to revenge on Munich the cruelties (too horrid to be described) which Tilly had perpetrated at Magdeburg, to give up the city to pillage, and reduce the elector's magnificent palace to ashes, "No !" replied he : "let us not imitate the barbarity of the Goths, our ancestors, who rendered their memory detestable by abusing the rights of

⁴³ Pet. Bapt. Burg. de Bello Suecico Comment. lib. ii.—Harte's Life of Gustavus, vol. ii.
⁴⁴ Mercure Francois.—Harte, vol. ii.

conquest, in doing violence to humanity, and destroying the precious monuments of art⁴⁵."

During these transactions, the renowned Wallenstein, who had been for some time in disgrace, but was restored to the chief command with unlimited powers, soon after the defeat of Leipsic, had recovered Prague, and the greater part of Bohemia. Gustavus offered him battle near Nuremburg; but the cautious veteran prudently declined the challenge, and the king was repulsed in attempting to force his entrenchments. The action lasted for ten hours, during which every regiment in the Swedish army, not excepting the body of reserve, was led on to the attack.

The king's person was in imminent danger; the Austrian cavalry, sallying out furiously from their entrenchments on the right and left, when the efforts of the Swedes began to slacken; and a masterly retreat alone could have saved him from a total overthrow. That service was partly performed by an old Scotch colonel of the name of Hepburn, who had resigned his commission in disgust, but was present at this assault. To him Gustavus applied in his distress, seeing no officer of equal experience at hand, and trusting to the colonel's natural generosity of spirit. He was not deceived. Hepburn's pride overcame his resentment. "This," said he (and he persevered in his resolution) "is the last time that ever I will serve so ungrateful a prince!"—Elate with the opportunity of gathering fresh laurels, and of exalting himself in the eyes of a master, by whom he thought himself injured, he rushed into the midst of the battle, delivered the orders of the king of Sweden to his army, and conducted the retreat with so much order and ability, that the imperialists durst not give him the smallest disturbance⁴⁶.

This severe check, and happy escape from almost inevitable ruin, ought surely to have moderated the ardour of Gustavus. But it had not sufficiently that effect. In marching to the assistance of the elector of Saxony, he again gave battle to Wallenstein with an inferior force, in the wide plain of Lutzen, and lost his life in a hot engagement, which terminated in the defeat of the imperial army. That engagement was attended with circumstances sufficiently memorable to merit a particular detail.

Soon after the king of Sweden arrived at Naumburg, he learned that Wallenstein had moved his camp from Weissenfels to

45 Harte, vol. ii.—*Le Vassor*, Hist. de Louis XIII.

46 *Mod. Univ. Hist.* art. Swed. sect. viii.—This anecdote relative to Hepburn is told somewhat differently by Mr. Harte, who, jealous of the honour of his hero Gustavus, seems scrupulous in admitting the merit of the Scottish and English officers.

Lutzen; and although that movement freed him from all necessity of fighting, as it left open his way into Saxony by Degaw, he was keenly stimulated by an appetite for battle. He accordingly convened in his own apartment his two favourite generals, Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weimar, and Kniphausen, and desired them to give their opinions freely, and without reserve. The youthful and ardent spirit of the duke, congenial to that of the king, instantly caught fire; and he declared in favour of an engagement. But Kniphausen, whose courage was matured by reflection and chastised by experience, steadily and uniformly dissuaded the king from hazarding an action at that juncture, as contrary to the true principles of military science. "No commander," said he, "ought to encounter an enemy greatly superior to him in strength, unless compelled to do so by some pressing necessity. Now your majesty is neither circumscribed in place, nor in want of provisions, forage, or warlike stores⁴⁷."

Gustavus seemed to acquiesce in the opinion of this able and experienced general; yet he was still ambitious of a new trial in arms with Wallestein. And being informed, on his nearer approach, that the imperial army had received no alarm, nor the general any intelligence of his motions, he declared his resolution of giving battle to the enemy.

That declaration was received with the strongest demonstrations of applause and the most lively expressions of joy. At one moment the whole Swedish army made its evolutions, and pointed its course towards the imperial camp. No troops were ever known to advance with so much alacrity; but their ardour was damped, and their vigour wasted, before they could reach the camp of their antagonists. By a mistake in computing the distance, they had eight miles to march instead of five, and chiefly through fresh-ploughed lands, the passage of which was difficult beyond description; the miry ground clinging to the feet and legs of the soldiers, and reaching, in some places, almost as high as the knee⁵⁰.

Nor were these the only difficulties the Swedes had to encounter before they arrived at Lutzen. When they came within two miles of the spot, where they hoped for a speedy termination of all their toils, they found a swamp, over which was a paltry bridge, so narrow that only two men could march over it abreast. In consequence of this new obstacle, it was sunset before the whole Swedish army could clear the pass; and Wallestein, having been by that time informed of the approach of Gustavus, was employed in fortifying his camp, and in taking every other mea-

47 Harte, vol. ii.

48 Id. *ibid.*

sure for his own safety and the destruction of his enemy that military skill could suggest.

The situation of the king of Sweden was now truly perilous. He saw himself reduced to the necessity of giving battle under the most adverse circumstances ; or of incurring the hazard of being routed in attempting a retreat with the troops fatigued, and almost fainting for want of food. Yet was a retreat thought expedient by some of his generals. But Gustavus, in a tone of decision, thus silenced their arguments:—"I cannot bear to see Wallestein under my beard, without making some animadversions upon him : I long to unearh him," added he, "and to behold with my own eyes how he can acquit himself in the open field⁴⁹."

Conformably to these sentiments, he resolved to give battle, and begin the action two hours before day. But the extreme darkness of the night rendered the execution of the latter part of his plan impracticable; and when the morning Nov. 16, N. S. began to dawn, and the sun to dispel the thick fog that had obscured the sky, an unexpected obstacle presented itself. Across the line, on which the Swedish left wing proposed to advance, was cut a deep ditch too difficult for the troops to pass ; so that the king was obliged to make his whole army move to the right, in order to occupy the ground which lay between the ditch and the hostile camp⁵⁰.

This movement was not made without some trouble and a considerable loss of time. When he had completed it, Gustavus ordered two hymns to be sung ; and riding along the lines with a commanding air, he thus harangued his Swedish troops:—"My companions and friends ! show the world this day what you really are. Acquit yourselves like disciplined men, who have been engaged in service ; observe your orders, and behave intrepidly for your own sakes as well as for mine. If you so respect yourselves, you will find the blessing of Heaven on the point of your swords, and reap deathless honour, the sure and inestimable reward of valour. But if, on the contrary, you give way to fear, and seek self-preservation in flight, then infamy is as certainly your portion, as my disgrace and your destruction will be the consequence of such a conduct⁵¹."

The king then addressed his German allies, who chiefly composed the second line of his army; lowering the tone of his voice, and relaxing his air of authority :—"Friends, officers, and fellow-soldiers," said he, "let me conjure you to behave valiantly this day. You shall fight not only under me, but with me. My blood shall mark the path you ought to pursue. Keep

49 *Le Soldat Sued.* 50 *Harte*, vol. ii.

51 *Soldat Sued.*—*Merc. Franc.*—*Swedish Intelligencer*.

firmly, therefore, within your ranks, and second your leader with courage. If you so act, victory is ours, with all its advantages, which you and your posterity shall not fail to enjoy. But if you give ground, or fall into disorder, your liberties and lives will become a sacrifice to the enemy⁵²."

On the conclusion of these two emphatical speeches, one universal shout of applause saluted the ears of Gustavus. Having disposed his army in order of battle, that warlike monarch now took upon himself, according to custom, the particular command of the right wing, attended by the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, Crailsham, grand master of his household, a body of English and Scottish gentlemen, and a few domestics. The action soon became general, and was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides. But the veteran Swedish brigades of the first line, though the finest troops in the world, and esteemed *invincible*, found the passing of certain ditches, which Wallestein had ordered to be hollowed and lined with musqueteers, so exceedingly difficult, that their ardour began to abate, and they seemed to pause, when their heroic prince flew to the dangerous station, and dismounting, snatched a partizan from one of his officers, and said in an austere tone, accompanied with a stern look,—

"If, after having passed so many rivers, scaled the walls of numberless fortresses, and conquered in various battles, your native intrepidity hath at last deserted you, stand firm at least for a few seconds :—have yet the courage to behold your master die—in a manner worthy of himself!"—And he offered to cross the ditch.

"Stop, sire ! for the sake of Heaven," cried all the soldiers, "spare that valuable life!—Distrust us not, and the business shall be done⁵³."

Satisfied, after such an assurance, that his brave brigades in the centre would not deceive him, Gustavus returned to the head of the right wing, and making his horse spring boldly across the last ditch, set an example of gallantry to his officers and soldiers, which they thought themselves bound to imitate.

Having cast his eye over the enemy's left wing that opposed him, he observed three squadrons of imperial cuirassiers, completely clothed in iron ; and calling colonel Stalhaus to him, said, "Stalhaus ! charge home these black fellows ; for they are the men that will otherwise undo us."

"The colonel executed the orders of his royal master with great intrepidity and effect. But, in the mean time, about two hours after the commencement of the battle, Gustavus lost his life. He was then fighting, sword in hand, at the head of the Smaland cavalry, which closed the right flank of the centre of his army,

⁵² Chemnitz, de Bell. Suec. German.

⁵³ Theat. Europ. fol. 747.

and is supposed to have outstripped, in his ardour, the invincible brigades that composed his main body. The Swedes fought like roused lions, to revenge the death of their king: many and vigorous were their struggles; and the approach of night alone prevented Kniphausen and the duke of Saxe-Weimar from gaining a decisive victory⁵⁴.

During nine hours did the battle rage with inexpressible fierceness. No field was ever disputed with greater courage than the plain of Lutzen, where the Swedish infantry not only maintained their ground against a brave and greatly superior army, but broke its force, and almost completed its destruction. Nor could the flight of the Saxons, or the arrival of Papenheim, one of the ablest generals in the imperial service, with seven thousand fresh combatants, shake the unconquerable fortitude of the Swedes. The gallant death of that great man served but to crown their glory, and immortalise their triumph. "Tell Wallestein," said he, presuming on the consequences that would result on the death of the Swedish monarch, "that I have preserved the Catholic religion, and made the emperor a free man⁵⁵!"—The death of Gustavus deserves more particular notice.

The king first received a ball in his left arm. This wound he disregarded for a time, still pressing on with intrepid valour. The soldiers, perceiving their leader to be wounded, expressed their sorrow on that account: "Courage, my comrades!" cried he, "the hurt is nothing; let us resume our ardour, and maintain the charge⁵⁶." At length, however, when his voice and strength began to fail, he desired the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg to convey him to some place of safety.

In that instant, as his brave associates were preparing to conduct him out of the scene of action, an imperial cavalier advanced unobserved, and crying aloud, "Long have I sought thee!" shot Gustavus through the body with a pistol ball⁵⁷. But this bold champion did not long enjoy the glory of his daring exploit: for the duke's master of the horse shot him dead, with the vaunting words yet recent on his lips⁵⁸.

Piccolomini's cuirassiers now made a furious attack upon the king's companions. Gustavus was held up on his saddle for some time; but his horse, having received a wound in the shoulder, made a furious plunge, and flung the rider to the earth. His two faithful grooms, though mortally wounded, threw themselves over their master's body; and one gentleman of the bed-

⁵⁴ Harte, vol. ii. ⁵⁵ Rico. de Bell. Germ. ⁵⁶ Merc. Franc. ⁵⁷ Harte, vol. ii.

⁵⁸ This promptitude and other collateral circumstances, seem to prove that the duke of Saxe Lawenburg did not assassinate Gustavus, notwithstanding all the attempts made to criminate him.

chamber, who lay on the ground, having cried out, in order to save his sovereign's life, that he was king of Sweden, was instantly stabbed to the heart by an imperial cuirassier⁵⁹.

Gustavus being afterwards asked who he was, replied with heroic firmness and magnanimity, "I am the king of Sweden! and seal with my blood the Protestant religion and liberties of Germany." The imperialists gave him five wounds, and a bullet passed through his head; yet had he strength left to exclaim, "My God! my God!" His body was recovered by Stalhaus, in spite of the most vigorous efforts of Piccolomini, who strove to carry it off⁶⁰.

No prince, ancient or modern, seems to have possessed in so eminent a degree as Gustavus Adolphus the united qualities of the hero, the statesman, and the commander; that intuitive genius which conceives, the wisdom which plans, and that happy combination of courage and conduct which gives success to, an enterprise. Nor was the military progress of any leader ever equally rapid, under circumstances equally difficult; with an inferior force against warlike nations and disciplined troops, commanded by able and experienced generals. His greatest fault, as a king and a commander, was an excess of valour. He usually appeared in the front of the battle, mounted on a horse of a particular colour; which, with his large and majestic stature, surpassing that of every other Swede, made him known both to friends and foes⁶¹.

But Gustavus had other qualities beside those of the military and political kind. He was a pious christian, a warm friend, a tender husband, a dutiful son, an affectionate father. And the sentiments suited to all these softer characters are admirably displayed in a letter from this prince to his minister Oxenstiern, written a few days before the battle of Lutzen. "Though the cause in which I am engaged," said he, "is just and good, yet the event of war, on account of the vicissitudes of human affairs, must ever be deemed doubtful. Uncertain, also, is the duration of mortal life; I therefore require and beseech you, in the name of our blessed Redeemer! to preserve your fortitude of spirit, if events should not proceed in perfect conformity to my wishes.

"Remember likewise," continued Gustavus, "how I should comfort myself in regard to you, if, by divine permission, I might live till that period when you should have occasion for any assistance from me. Consider me as a man, the guardian of a kingdom, who has struggled with difficulties for twenty years, and passed through them with reputation, by

the protection and mercy of Heaven; as a man who loved and honoured his relatives, and who neglected life, riches, and happy days, for the preservation and glory of his country and faithful subjects; expecting no other recompense than to be declared, *The prince who fulfilled the duties of that station which Providence had assigned to him in this world.*

“They who survive me,” added he,—“for I, like others, must expect to feel the stroke of mortality—are, on my account, and for other reasons, real objects of your commiseration:—they are of the tender and defenceless sex,—a helpless mother who wants a guide, and an infant daughter who needs a protector!—Natural affection forces these lines from the hand of a son and a parent⁶².”

The death of the king of Sweden presaged great alterations in the state of Europe. The elector Palatine, who had conceived hopes of being restored not only to his hereditary dominions, but to the throne of Bohemia, died soon after of chagrin. The German Protestants, now without a head, were divided into factions; the imperialists, though defeated, were transported with joy, and prepared to push the war with vigour; while the Swedes, though victorious, were overwhelmed with sorrow for the loss of their heroic prince, whose daughter and successor, Christina, was only in the seventh year of her age. A council of regency, however, being appointed, and the management of the war in Germany committed to the chancellor Oxenstiern, a man of great political talents, the Protestant confederacy again wore a formidable aspect; and hostilities were prosecuted with vigour and success by the duke of A. D. 1633. Saxe-Weimar and the generals Banier and Horn.

Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, the war became every day more burthensome and disagreeable, both to the Swedes and their German allies; and Oxenstiern, who had hitherto successfully employed his genius in finding resources for the support of the common cause, saw it in danger of sinking, when an unexpected event gave new hopes to the confederates. The emperor, jealous of the vast powers he had granted to Wallestein, whose insolence and ambition were unbounded, resolved to deprive him of the command: and that general, in order to prevent his disgrace, is said to have concerted the means of a revolt. It is at least certain, that he attempted to secure

⁶² Loeven. Hist. Suec.—It is not a little surprising that Gustavus, in this memorable letter, makes no mention of his beloved consort Eleonora, in parting from whom, when he began his march for Saxony, he was so much affected, that he could only say, “God bless you!”—and in bemoaning whose widowed condition (his ejaculation to the Deity excepted) his last words employed—“Alas, my poor queen!” sighed he, in his dying moments:—“Alas, my poor queen!” Harte, vol. ii.

himself by winning the attachment of his soldiers ; and Ferdinand, afraid of the delay of a legal trial, or having
 A. D. 1634. no proof of his treason, and dreading his resentment, had recourse to the dishonourable expedient of assassination⁶³.

But the fall of this great man, who had chiefly obstructed the progress of the Swedish arms, both before and since the death of Gustavus, was not followed by all those advantages which the confederates expected from it. The imperialists, animated by the presence of the king of Hungary, the emperor's eldest son, who succeeded Wallestein in the command of the army, made up in valour what their general wanted in experience. Twenty thousand Spaniards and Italians arrived in Germany under the duke of Feria ; the cardinal infant, the new governor of the Low Countries, likewise brought a reinforcement to the Catholic cause ; the duke of Lorraine, a soldier of fortune, joined the king of Hungary with ten thousand men ; and the duke of Bavaria, whom the Swedes had deprived of the Palatinate, also found himself under the necessity of uniting his forces to those of the emperor.

Banier, Horn, and the duke of Saxe-Weimar, maintained a superiority on the Oder, the Rhine, and the Danube ; and the elector of Saxony in Bohemia and Lusatia. Horn and the duke united their forces, in order to oppose the progress of the king of Hungary, who had made himself master of
 Sept. 6, N. S. Ratisbon. They came up with him near Nordlingen, where ensued one of the most obstinate and bloody battles recorded in history, in which the Swedes were totally routed, in spite of their most vigorous efforts⁶⁴. In vain did the duke remind them of Leipsic and Lutzen : though a consummate general, he wanted that all-inspiring energy of Gustavus, which communicated his own heroism to his troops, and made them irresistible, unless when opposed to insuperable bulwarks.

This defeat threw the members of the evangelical union into the utmost consternation and despair. They accused the Swedes, whom they had lately extolled as their deliverers, of all the calamities which they felt or dreaded ; and the emperor, taking advantage of these discontents and his own success, did not fail to divide the confederates yet more by negotiation. The elector of Saxony first deserted the alliance : and a treaty with the

⁶³ Barre, tome ix.—*Annal. de l'Emp.* Harte, vol. ii.—If Wallestein had formed any reasonable designs, it seems to have been after he discovered his ruin to be otherwise inevitable. He was too great and haughty for a subject ; and the death of Gustavus had rendered him less necessary to the emperor.

⁶⁴ Loccen, lib. ix.—*Pufend.* lib. vi.

court of Vienna, to the following purport, was at length signed at Prague, by all the Protestant princes, except the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. "The Protestants shall for ever retain the mediate ecclesiastical benefices (*such as did not depend immediately upon the emperor*), seized before the pacification of Passau; and they shall retain for the space of forty years the immediate benefices, though seized since the treaty of Passau, if actually enjoyed before the 12th day of November, 1627: the exercise of the Protestant religion shall be freely permitted in all the dominions of the empire, except the kingdom of Bohemia and the provinces belonging to the house of Austria: the duke of Bavaria shall be maintained in possession of the Palatinate, on condition of paying the jointure of Frederic's widow, and granting a proper subsistence to his son, when he shall return to his duty; and there shall be, between the emperor and the confederates of the Augsburg confession, who shall sign this treaty, a mutual restitution of every thing taken since the irruption of Gustavus into the empire⁶⁵."

In consequence of this pacification, almost the whole weight of the war devolved upon the Swedes and the French; and Louis, in consequence of a new treaty with the court of Stockholm, sent an army into Germany, to support the duke of Saxe-Weimar. But the success of these new hostilities must furnish the subject of another letter.

65 London: p. Act. Pub. vol. iv.—Du Mont, Corp. Diplom. tome v.

LETTER LXXVII.

A general View of the European Continent, from the Treaty of Prague, in 1635, to the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648.

WHILE Germany was a scene of war and desolation, cardinal Richelieu ruled France with a rod of iron. Though hated both by the nobility and the people, he continued to hold the reins of government. Several conspiracies were formed against him, at the instigation of the duke of Orleans and the queen-mother; but they were all defeated by his vigilance and vigour, and terminated in the ruin of their contrivers. The widow of Henry IV. was banished; her son Gaston was obliged to beg his life; the mareschals Marillas and Montmorency were

brought to the block; and the gibbets were frequently loaded with inferior criminals, condemned by the most arbitrary sentences, and in a court erected for the trial of the cardinal's enemies. In order to render himself more necessary to the throne, as well as to complete his political scheme, he now resolved to engage France in open hostilities with the whole house of Austria; and had this step been taken while the Swedish power was unbroken, and the Protestant princes were united, it could not have failed of extraordinary success. But Richelieu's jealousy of Gustavus prevented him, during the life of that monarch, from joining the arms of France to those of Sweden; and Oxenstiern, before the unfortunate battle of Nordlingen, was unwilling to give the French any footing in Germany. That overthrow altered his sentiments; he offered to put Louis immediately in possession of Philipsburgh and the province of Alsace, on condition that France should take an active part in the war against the emperor. Richelieu readily embraced a proposal that corresponded so entirely with his views. He also concluded an alliance with the United Provinces, in the hope of sharing the Low Countries; and he sent a herald to Brussels, in the name of his master, to denounce war against Spain¹. A treaty was at the same time concluded with the duke of Savoy, to strengthen the French interest in Italy.

If France had not taken a decided part in the war, the treaty of Prague would have completed the destruction of the Swedish forces in Germany. But Louis, or rather cardinal Richelieu, now began to levy troops with great diligence, and five considerable armies were soon in the field. The first and largest of these marched into the Low Countries, under the *mareschals* de Chatillon and Brezé; the second, commanded by the duke de la Force, entered Lorrain; the third took the route of the duchy of Milan, under the *mareschal* de Crequi; the duke of Rohan led the fourth into the *Valteline*; and the fifth acted upon the Rhine, under the duke of Saxe-Weimar. In order to oppose the operations of the French on the side of Lorrain, the emperor sent thither general Galas, an experienced officer, at the head of a powerful army, to join the duke of that territory, who intended to besiege Colmar, and had already taken some towns in its neighbourhood. The design against Colmar, however, was defeated by the severity of the season; and La Force obliged the duke of Lorrain to abandon Burgundy, which he had entered in the spring, with a view of reducing Montbelliard. This check,

¹ Le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII.*—This is said to have been the last declaration of war made by a herald at arms. Since that time each party has thought it sufficient to publish a declaration at home, without sending into an enemy's country a cartel of defiance.

and the fatigues of his march, so diminished the duke's army, that he was not able during the campaign to attempt any new enterprise.

Galas, the imperial general, having fixed his head quarters at Worms, sent detachments to ravage the country and surprise the towns that were garrisoned by the Swedes. Mentz was blocked up by count Mansfeld²; and although the preservation of the place was of the utmost consequence to the confederates, as it secured their communication with both sides of the Rhine, the duke of Saxe-Weimar was in no condition to raise the blockade. He was still more interested in preserving Keyzers-lauter, where he had deposited all the booty which he had taken since the beginning of the war. That place, however, though defended with such obstinacy that a greater part of the garrison had fallen in the breach, during the different assaults which it had sustained, was taken by storm, before the duke could afford it relief. Galas, who had reduced it, afterwards invested Deux-Ponts; but Weimar's army being reinforced with eighteen thousand French under the cardinal de la Valette, the imperial general was obliged to abandon his undertaking. Mansfeld's lines were also forced, and supplies thrown into Mentz³.

While the confederates lay under the cannon of that city, Galas assembled an army of thirty thousand men in the neighbourhood of Worms; and by sending detachments to occupy Saarbruck, and several other places, reduced the French and Swedes to the greatest extremity for want of provisions. In this emergency they repassed the Rhine at Bingen, on a bridge of boats, as if their route had been for Coblentz, though their real design was to reach Vaudervange, where there was a French garrison. With this view they marched night and day, without refreshment or repose; yet Galas, who had crossed the Rhine at Worms, in order to harass them in their retreat, overtook them with his cavalry at the river Glann, between Odernheim and Messenheim, where the imperialists were repulsed. Not discouraged by this check, Galas, at the head of nine thousand horse, traversed the duchy of Deux-Ponts, entered Lorrain, and waited for the confederates in a defile between Vaudervange and Boulai. There an obstinate engagement ensued, in which the imperial cavalry were routed. The French afterwards retired to Pont-à-Mousson, and the Swedes to Moyenvic, with the wreck of their several armies; which, although victorious, were both greatly reduced⁴.

The French and their allies had no reason to boast of their

² Not the general who, at the beginning of the thirty-years war, acted on the side of the Protestants.

³ Barre, tome ix.—Pufend. lib. viii.

⁴ Barre, tome ix.

success in other quarters. Nothing effectual was done in Italy, where the duke of Parma had the misfortune to see himself stripped of the greater part of his dominions by the Spaniards, notwithstanding the efforts of Crequi and the duke of Savoy, who, in one battle, gained a considerable advantage over the enemy. In the Low Countries, where the highest hopes had been formed, the disappointment of cardinal Richelieu was particularly great. He had computed on the entire conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, and a scheme of partition was actually drawn up, whereby the duchy of Luxemburg, the counties of Namur, Hainault, Artois, and Flanders, were assigned to France; while Brabant, Guelderland, the lordship of Mechlin, and other territories, were to be annexed to the republic of Holland. This scheme, however, proved as vain as it was ambitious. The Dutch were jealous of the growing power of France; and the prince of Orange had a personal pique against the cardinal. Therefore, although the mareschals Brezé and Chatillon were so fortunate as to defeat the Flemish army detached by the cardinal infant to give them battle, before their junction with the forces of the United Provinces, nothing of consequence was effected after that junction was formed. The French commanders were under the necessity of leading back the miserable remains of their army, wasted with fatigue and disease; and the prince of Orange spent the latter part of the campaign in recovering the strong fortress of Schenck, which had been reduced by the enemy. Nor was this all: the cardinal infant perceiving that, in consequence of the many designs formed on all sides, the frontier of Picardy lay in a manner open, sent an army under the celebrated generals Piccolomini and John de Weert to enter France on that side. This army took la Chapelle, Catelet, and Corbie; and the Parisians, by the approach of the enemy within three days' march of their gates, were thrown into the utmost consternation: but, by the vigorous measures of Richelieu, fifty thousand men were quickly assembled, and the Spaniards and Flemings found themselves obliged to evacuate France⁵.

Having surmounted this danger, the French minister took the most effectual steps to secure the success of the ensuing campaign. To recover the friendship of Henry prince of Orange, whom he had offended by his haughtiness, he honoured him with the title of *Highness* instead of *Excellency*—a flattery which had the desired effect. And he concluded a treaty with the duke of Saxe-Weimar, in which it was stipulated, that in consideration of an annual subsidy, the duke should maintain an army of

eighteen thousand men, which he should command in person, as general of the troops belonging to the German princes, in alliance with the French king, to whom he should take the oath of allegiance; and that Louis should cede in his favour all the claims of France to Alsace. In pursuance of this treaty, the duke being joined by a French army under the cardinal de la Valette, began the campaign with the A. D. 1636. siege of Saverne. The place made a gallant defence, in hopes of being relieved by Galas, who had promised to march against the besiegers. Perceiving, however, the impracticability of such an attempt, Galas made an irruption into Franche-Comté, in conjunction with the duke of Lorraine. Having reduced Saverne, Weimar omitted nothing that could obstruct or harass the imperialists in their march: and his endeavours were so successful, that Galas lost about seven thousand men before he entered Burgundy. He continued his march, nevertheless, and undertook the siege of St. Jean de Laune, which he was obliged to abandon, in consequence of the overflowing of the adjacent rivers; and being pursued by the viscount de Turenne, he lost about five thousand men, and the greater part of his baggage, in his retreat⁶.

In upper Germany, an important battle was fought between the Swedes under Banier, and the imperialists commanded by the elector of Saxony. After watching the motions of each other for some time, they halted in the plains of Wislock. The imperial camp was pitched on an eminence, and fortified with fourteen redoubts, under which the troops stood ready to engage. Desirous of drawing the enemy from that advantageous post, Banier ordered part of his cavalry to advance and skirmish. This feint having in some measure the intended effect, he ordered colonel Gun, who commanded the right wing of the Swedes, to attack the enemy, and advanced himself at the head of five brigades to support that wing; while general Statens, with the left wing, wheeled round the hill to charge the imperialists in flank. These attacks were executed with vigour and success. Five thousand Austrians and Saxons were slain; three thousand were wounded, and nearly an equal number became prisoners⁷.

This engagement, which restored the lustre of the Swedish arms, raised Banier to the highest degree of military reputation, and gave a signal blow to the imperial power, was soon followed by the demise of Ferdinand. He died at Vienna, in Feb. 1637. the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand III. The

⁶ Pufend. lib. viii.—Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII.

⁷ Id. ibid.

accession of this prince made little alteration in the state of the war : for although the first year of the new reign was distinguished by no memorable enterprise, the greater part of it being wasted in fruitless negotiations, the next campaign was remarkably active and bloody ; as if the contending powers had only been resting, in order to renew with more destructive rage the work of death. The duke of Saxe-Weimar, who had already

fully revenged the injuries of his family upon the house of Austria, advanced toward Rhinfeld early in the spring, A. D. 1638. and besieged it in form. The defence was so obstinate, that notwithstanding the utmost efforts of valour and military skill, the imperialists had time to come to its relief, under general Savelli and John de Weert. Weimar's right wing now fell with such fury upon the enemy's left, that it was quickly broken. The duke's left wing was not equally successful. On the contrary, it was repulsed ; but he collected his cavalry, and repeated the charge with such vigour, that his adversaries must have been totally routed, had they not retired under cover of the night. The battle was renewed on the following day, when the defeat of the imperialists was completed, with the capture of both their generals, and a great number of inferior officers.

The duke, after his victory, returned to the siege of Rhinfeld, to which he granted an honourable capitulation, in consideration of its gallant defence. Neuberg, Rotellen, and Freyburg, were also reduced ; and the siege of Brisac was undertaken with the greatest confidence of success. Here the duke of Lorraine, and Götz, the imperial general, attempted to interrupt Weimar's career, by attacking his entrenchments, but without effect. They always found him upon his guard ; and Brisac was forced to surrender, after it had been reduced to such extremity by famine, that the governor was obliged to set a guard upon the burying-places, in order to prevent the inhabitants from digging up and devouring the dead.

The news of this important conquest no sooner reached Paris, than Louis formed the scheme of annexing Brisac to the crown of France, and made Weimar very advantageous proposals on the subject. But that negotiation, if prosecuted, would have proved very difficult, as the duke had set his heart upon the county of Brisgaw, which he meant to keep in his own possession, that it might be a thorn in the side of the house of Austria, against which his hatred was inextinguishable, on account of the indignities offered to his ancestor John Frederic by the emperor Chares V. He thought the conquest of Brisac would secure Brisgaw, where he intended to form an establishment that would not easily be shaken. He therefore gallantly replied, when pressed by the French minister to explain himself on this

point : " To part with my conquest, would be to sacrifice my honour : would you ask a virgin to surrender her chastity." He amused the court of France, however, with a pretended negotiation, which was managed with so much dexterity by Er-lach, his lieutenant, that Louis agreed to furnish him with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, although nothing had been concluded with regard to Brisac⁸.

While the duke of Saxe-Weimar thus triumphed over the imperialists in Brisgaw, Banier was successful in Pomerania. After the victory obtained at Wislock, he reduced Gartz, Demmin, and Wolgast; and, understanding that Galas had extended his army, he sent a reconnoitring detachment, which surprised and cut in pieces two regiments of imperial horse. But Charles Louis, prince Palatine (son of the expelled elector,) who had assembled some troops, and burned with impatience to re-establish himself by the sword, was less fortunate in Westphalia. Count Hasfeld, the emperor's lieutenant-general in that province, advanced against him with a powerful army, in order to raise the siege of Lemgow. Charles, sensible that he was in no condition to defend his lines against such a force, retreated towards Minden; but Hasfeld coming up with him in the valley of Astheim, an action ensued, in which victory continued long doubtful, but at last declared in favour of the imperialists. The Palatine's little army was almost utterly cut off, his artillery was lost, and his brother Robert made prisoner⁹.

In the beginning of the next campaign, the two victorious commanders, Banier and Weimar, concerted measures for penetrating into the heart of the Austrian A. D. 1639. dominions. Banier accordingly crossed the Elbe, and made an irruption into the territories of Anhalt and Halberstadt. Leaving his infantry and cannon behind him, he pushed on with his cavalry; surprised Salis, grand master of the imperial ordnance in the neighbourhood of Oelnitz; and cut off six regiments of imperialists. He then entered Saxony, and advanced as far as the suburbs of Dresden; where he defeated four Saxon regiments, and obliged a larger body of the enemy to take refuge under the cannon of that city. But understanding that count Hasfeld was marching to interrupt his operations, he returned towards Zeitz, to join his infantry. While he remained there, intelligence was brought to him, that the Saxons were encamped near Chemnitz, where they expected soon to be joined by the army under Hasfeld. To prevent that junction, he attacked the Saxon army; and after a terrible conflict, obtained a complete victory. This success was followed by other advantages. He invaded Bohemia, and laid great part of the country under con-

tribution ; then returning, crossed the Elbe, and fell upon general Hofskirk, encamped near Brandeiz. The action was maintained with great obstinacy: both sides fought with remarkable intrepidity; but, at length, the imperialists were constrained to yield to the superior fortune of the Swedes, with the loss of two thousand men. Banier pursued them to the walls of Prague, and took the imperial generals, Hofskirk and Montecuculi, prisoners.

That he might carry the war into Silesia and Moravia, the Swedish general repassed the Elbe, but did not meet with the success he expected. The enemy's forces multiplied daily; and it was impossible for him, with an inferior army, to succour every place that required his protection. The Protestants had promised him great assistance, but they were over-awed by the presence of the imperial troops. No insurrection appeared in his favour ; yet was he not discouraged. He defeated a body of imperialists at Glatz, and drove the Saxons three times from their camp at Tirn¹⁰.

But the aspiring hopes of Banier and the Swedes were suddenly blasted by the death of Bernard duke of Saxe-Weimar. He had commenced the campaign with the siege of Thau, which he ordered to be battered with red-hot bullets ; a mode of attack which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that they surrendered almost instantly, though they had before baffled all the efforts of Guebriant the French general. Bernard's character was now so high, and his army so formidable to the imperial throne, that Ferdinand made some secret attempts to detach him from the French interest. But instead of listening to such proposals, which he considered as insidious, or slackening in his operations, he vigorously exerted himself in taking measures for passing the Rhine. While thus employed, he fell sick at Huningen, whence he was transported by water to Neuburg, July 18. N. S. and there expired in the thirty-sixth year of his age. He is supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy and ambition of Richelieu, who was not only desirous of getting possession of Brisac, but apprehended that his scheme of humbling the house of Austria might be defeated, if the duke should close with the emperor's proposals. Pufendorff not only supports this opinion, but positively affirms, that the duke was taken off by poison, and that his body had all the marks of it¹¹.

His death was no sooner known, than a violent contest arose for the possession of his army. Endeavours were used by the Swedish agents in Germany to engage the officers and soldiers

¹⁰ Pufend. lib. xi.—Loccen. lib. ix.

¹¹ Comment. de Reb. Succ. lib. xi. sect. 39

to join general Banier: the emperor took every measure in his power to draw them into his service, and regain possession of the places which the duke had conquered; and the prince Palatine, the re-establishment of whose family had been the chief cause of the war, attempted to gain them through the influence of England and Holland. But cardinal Richelieu ordered the prince to be arrested at Moulins, in his return from London, and carried prisoner to the castle of Vincennes, where he was confined, till a treaty was concluded between France and the Weimarian officers. It was stipulated that the duke's soldiers should constitute a separate body, under the direction of the officers named in his will for that purpose; that the French king should keep this body always effective, by the payment of a certain annual sum for raising recruits; that he should continue to the principal officers the same appointments which they had enjoyed under the duke, furnish them with bread, ammunition, and all other necessities of war, and ratify the several donations which Bernard had made to his officers and soldiers; that the troops should receive their orders from the duke of Longueville, through the medium of their own commanders, who should be summoned to all councils convened for the service of the common cause; that the conquered places should be put into the hands of the French king, who might at pleasure appoint governors for Brisac and Freyburg, but that the garrison should consist of an equal number of French and German soldiers, and the governors of the other places, be chosen from the Weimarian army¹².

In consequence of this important negotiation, which rendered the king of France sovereign of almost all Alsace, and a great part of Brisgaw, the duke of Longueville, with the Weimarian army, mareschal Guebriant, with the French troops, and the troops of Lunenburg, commanded by general Klitzing, joined Banier at Erfort. Nothing farther was necessary to ensure success to the confederates beside unanimity; but that unfortunately did not attend their operations. All claiming superiority, none chose to be directed, as each entertained a high opinion of his own merit, and sought to display his judgment by proposing some new plan of operations; so that Banier found, that, although he had increased his numbers, he had acquired little

¹² Londorp. Act. Pub. vol. iv.—The duke of Saxe-Weimar was a soldier of fortune, and one of the generals formed under Gustavus. After the death of that monarch, and the destructive battle of Nordlingen, where the Swedish infantry were cut off almost to a man, he collected a German army, which was properly his own, and which he supported partly by the practice of war, and partly by the subsidy that he received from France. Notwithstanding his immature death, and the defeat at Nordlingen, he may be ranked among the greatest modern commanders. Turenne always acknowledged him to have been his master in the military science. *Mém. de la Fare*

additional strength. Perhaps his real force might rather be said to be diminished, as he was no longer allowed to follow the suggestions of his own genius, and strike those unexpected blows which distinguish the consummate general.

After long debates, it was agreed to attack Piccolomini, the imperial general, in his camp at Saltzburg. With this view the confederates seized an eminence, whence they began a violent cannonading, and afterwards attacked the enemy's entrenchments sword in hand; but Piccolomini was so advantageously posted, that the attempt to force his camp was found impracticable. It was accordingly laid aside; and both armies continued in sight of each other, until scarcity began to reign in each camp. There seemed to be a kind of rivalry who could longest endure the pressure of famine. But, on the side of the confederates, this inaction proceeded from irresolution, and a division of counsels; whereas, on that of the imperialists, it was dictated by a prudent caution. Weary of such languid delay, Banier set out for Franconia, in order to seize some advantageous post upon the Maine. But as he advanced toward the river Sala, he perceived that the enemy occupied the opposite bank. They were there so strongly entrenched, that it was impossible for him to force a passage: he was therefore under the necessity of marching through the landgraviate of Hesse, where his army suffered greatly by famine.

Piccolomini now endeavoured to penetrate into Lunenburg; but Banier's diligence baffled all his efforts. He prevented the imperialists from crossing the Weser, and refreshed his own army in that duchy, which had not yet been exhausted by the ravages of war. Pinched with famine, and harassed by the perpetual alarms of the Hessians, Piccolomini determined to lead his forces into Franconia. But, on his march thither, he was attacked by the Weimarian army; and, although not totally defeated, he could scarcely have suffered more by such a disaster¹³. It must, however, be considered as very honourable for that general, to have been able to make head against the combined forces of the confederates, and even to oblige them to quit the imperial dominions.

The house of Austria was less fortunate in other quarters, during the year 1640. The affairs of Philip IV. declined in Italy: Catalonia revolted, and Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke. The Catalans were desirous of forming a republic, but, too feeble to support themselves against the power of a tyrannical master, they were obliged to throw themselves into the arms of France, and ultimately to submit to the dominion of Spain.

The Portuguese were more successful in their struggle for independence. Inflamed with national animosity, and irritated by despotic rule, they had long sought to break their chains. A law to compel the nobility, under pain of the forfeiture of their estates, to take up arms for the subjection of Catalonia, completed the general disaffection: and other circumstances conspired to hasten a revolution. A plot had been in agitation, above three years, in favour of the duke of Braganza, whose grandfather had been deprived of his right to the crown of Portugal by Philip II. The conspirators now resolved to carry their design into execution, and effected it with incredible facility. Olivarez had been so imprudent as to recal the Spanish garrison from Lisbon: very few troops were left in Portugal; the oppressed people were ripe for an insurrection; and the Spanish minister, to amuse the duke of Braganza, whose ruin he meditated, had given him the command of the arsenal. The duchess of Mantua, who had been honoured with the empty title of vice-queen, was driven out of the kingdom without a blow. Vasconcellos, the Spanish secretary, and one of his clerks, were the only victims sacrificed to public vengeance. All the towns in Portugal followed the example of the capital, and almost on the same day. The duke of Braganza was unanimously proclaimed king, under the name of John IV. A son does not succeed more quietly to the possessions of his father in a well-regulated state. Ships were immediately despatched from Lisbon to all the Portuguese settlements in Asia and Africa, as well as to those in the islands of the eastern and western ocean; and they all, with one accord, expelled their Spanish governors¹⁴. Portugal became again an independent kingdom; and by the recovery of Brasil, which, during the Spanish administration, had been conquered by the Dutch, its former lustre was in some measure restored.

While all Europe rang with the news of this singular revolution, Philip IV., shut up in the inmost recesses of the Escorial, lost in the delirium of licentious pleasure, or bewildered in the maze of idle amusement, was utterly ignorant of it. The manner in which Olivarez made him acquainted with his misfortune is truly memorable. "I come," said that artful minister, "to communicate good news to your majesty: the whole fortune of the duke of Braganza is become yours. He has been so presumptuous as to get himself declared king of Portugal; and, in consequence of this folly, your majesty is entitled to the forfeiture of all his estates."—"Let the sequestration be ordered!" replied Philip, and continued his dissipations¹⁵.

The emperor Ferdinand III. was of a less patient, or rather

¹⁴ Vertot, Hist. des Revolut. de Portugal.

¹⁵ Anecdotes de Duc d'Olivarez.

of a less indolent temper. He had convoked a diet at Ratisbon, to concert measures for carrying on the war, though he pretended to be desirous of peace. Banier formed the design of dispersing this assembly, and even of surprising the city. Having joined the French army under Guebriant at Erfort, he soon arrived at Hoff, and detaching thence five regiments of cavalry to Egra, under the command of major-general Wittemberg, who had orders to join the army at Porew, he advanced to Awerbach. The confederates then proceeded to Schwendorff, crossed the Danube upon the ice, and captured above fifteen hundred of the enemy's horse. The emperor himself, who intended to devote that day to the chase, narrowly escaped being made prisoner. His advanced guard and equipage were taken.

The approach of the French and Swedish armies filled Ratisbon with consternation, as it was utterly unprovided against a siege, and full of strangers and suspected persons. The design of the confederates was to take advantage of the frost, in order to block up and starve the town; but the weather unexpectedly becoming more mild, it was resolved to repass the Danube, before the ice should be thawed. Banier, however, would not retire before he had made an attempt to dissolve the diet. With that view he approached Ratisbon; and Guebriant, who commanded the vanguard, placing his artillery on the banks of the Rugen, which ran between the town and the confederates, saluted the emperor with five hundred shot; an insult which stung Ferdinand so keenly, that he seemed bereft of all the powers of reason and recollection.

During the deliberations of the diet, the counts D'Avaux and Salvius, the plenipotentiaries of France and Sweden, were negotiating at Hamburg the preliminaries of a general peace with Lutzau, one of Ferdinand's aulic counsellors. After certain difficulties had been removed, it was agreed by these celebrated statesmen, that a congress for a general peace should be holden at Munster and Osnabrug, the garrisons of which should march out; that the inhabitants should be released from their oath of allegiance to either party, and observe a strict neutrality during the time of negotiation; that both towns should be guarded by their own burghers and soldiers, commanded by the magistrates, who should be accountable for the effects, persons, and attendants of the negotiators; that the two conferences should be considered as only one congress, and the roads between the two cities be safe for all; that if the negotiation should be interrupted before a treaty could be concluded, Munster and Osnabrug should return to the same situation in which they were before the congress, but that the neutrality should be observed six

weeks after the conferences were broken off; that all the safe-conducts on each side should be exchanged at Hamburg, through the mediation of the Danish ambassador, within two months after the date of the agreement: that the emperor and king of Spain should grant safe-conducts to the ministers of France, Sweden, and their allies in Germany and elsewhere, and receive the same security from his most Christian majesty; and that the Swedish court should grant safe-conducts to the emperor's plenipotentiaries, as well as to those of the electors of Mentz and Brandenburg¹⁶. It was farther agreed, that France should treat at Munster, and Sweden at Osnabrug; and that each crown should have a secretary where the other's plenipotentiary was, in order to communicate their mutual resolutions.

The emperor refused to ratify this convention, which he said was prejudicial to his honour, as well as to the interests of the Germanic body; and some unexpected events, injurious to the cause of the confederates, confirmed him in his resolution of continuing the war. After the ineffectual attempt upon Ratisbon, the French separating from the Swedes, marched towards Bamberg, under Guebriant, and Banier took the rout of Cham, with a view of penetrating into Misnia through Bohemia; while the emperor, inflamed with rage, issued orders for assembling troops with all possible despatch, to revenge the insult he had suffered.

A powerful army being speedily formed, one part of it, under mareschal Gleen, went in pursuit of Banier, while the other, commanded by Piccolomini, besieged Neuburg, which was defended by an officer of the name of Slang; who, after having sustained five assaults, was obliged to surrender the place. Piccolomini then rejoined Gleen, in order to pursue Banier, who retreated across the forest of Bohemia. Having reached the other side of it, he found his progress impeded by the swelling of the river Pleis, but collected a number of boats, in which he embarked his troops with such expedition, that he had carried over his whole army before Piccolomini appeared upon the opposite bank. Neither the interposing stream, however, nor the presence of the enemy, retarded the progress of the imperialists. The Austrian cavalry swam across the river; and the Swedes being now hemmed in between the Pleis and the Moldaw, Banier's ruin seemed inevitable, when he extricated himself by one of those efforts of military genius which redound more to the honour of a general than the acquisition of the greatest victory, as fortune has no share in the success.

Finding himself thus circumstanced, the Swedish general posted some troops at a mill below Presnitz; where they made

¹⁶ Du Mont, Corps Di. tom. vi.

such an obstinate and vigorous resistance, when attacked by Piccolomini, that the main body of the army had time to retire to Zickaw, whither their baggage and artillery also were conveyed in the night. Here Banier was joined by Guebriant, who had put himself in motion as soon as he received intelligence of the reduction of Neuburg; so that the confederates were now in a condition to make head against the imperialists. But before any step could be taken for that purpose, Banier was seized with a fever at Zickaw, in consequence of the fatigue he had undergone in his march, and expired at Halberstadt, in the forty-first year of his age, to the inexpressible regret of his country as well as of her allies. Besides his knowledge in the art of war, which he had acquired under the great Gustavus, to whom he was scarcely inferior as a commander, he was distinguished by his moderation and humanity towards those whom he had vanquished. He always avoided the effusion of blood as far as circumstances would permit; and, being robust, patient, indefatigable, and active, he was adored by the soldiery, whose toils and dangers he cheerfully shared¹⁷.

The death of Banier raised the spirits of the imperialists, in proportion as it depressed those of the confederates, and the most dangerous consequences were apprehended from it; for his army chiefly consisted of Germans, who were retained in the service of Sweden solely by the reputation and authority of their general. But the troops, though at first inclined to mutiny, were preserved in obedience by the vigilance of the other Swedish commanders, Wrangel, Koningsmark, Wittemberg, and Pfuhl, notwithstanding the solicitations of the emperor, and their own necessitous condition, until the arrival of Torstenson, another general formed under Gustavus, and not unworthy of such a master. That he might have greater influence over the army, he was furnished with a large sum of money from the treasury of Sweden, and a considerable reinforcement.

Before this reinforcement arrived, the allies under the command of Guebriant had defeated the imperial army, led by the archduke Leopold and Piccolomini, near Wolfenbuttel. Four thousand imperialists were slain, and a great number taken prisoners¹⁸. No other event of consequence distinguished the latter part of the campaign, which was chiefly spent in waiting for Torstenson, at an encampment near Stadt; and, soon after he had assumed the command, the French and Swedish armies separated, by order of cardinal Richelieu. Guebriant entered Westphalia, and Torstenson led his troops into Bohemia, where

17 Pufend. Comment. de Rebus Suec. lib. xii.

18 Barre, tome ix.—Pufend. lib. xiii.

he proposed to winter, and attempt, in another season, to prove himself worthy of the confidence of his country.

A new treaty being concluded between France and Sweden, the most vigorous resolutions were taken for prosecuting the war. Guebriant crossed the Rhine early in the spring, upon a bridge of boats, built at Wesel; A. D. 1642. marched to Ordingen, which surrendered at discretion; and understanding that Hasfeld was on his march to join Lamboy, whose quarters were near Kempen, he resolved to prevent their junction, by attacking the latter in his entrenchments. With this view he left his baggage at Ordingen, advanced toward the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle, and proceeded to the assault. After an obstinate struggle, the camp was forced; and Lamboy, who rallied his troops and returned to the charge, was surrounded and made prisoner, together with general Mer-ci. Of his whole force not above six hundred escaped.

This victory was followed by the reduction of Lintz, Bevert, Berthem, and other towns; and Guebriant saw himself master, in a short time, of almost the whole electorate of Cologne. His next step was to besiege Kempen, which was defended with great gallantry and skill; but a large breach being at length made in the fortifications, the governor, convinced that it would be impossible to sustain an assault, capitulated upon honourable terms¹⁹.

The defeat of Lamboy, and the rapid success of the French general, did not, however, divert the archduke and Piccolomini, who commanded the imperialists in Moravia, from marching against Torstenson. They intended to surprise him in his camp; but all their attempts and expectations being defeated by the vigilance of the Swedish general, Piccolomini, in the true spirit of Italian policy, had recourse to treachery, by which he hoped to earn the reward of valour and military skill. With this view he corrupted one Seckendorf, a Swedish colonel, who promised to admit the imperialists into the camp by night. Fortunately the scheme was discovered, and the traitor punished: nor did his employers escape chastisement. The duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, who had marched towards Schwentz, in order to check the progress of Torstenson in Silesia, was defeated and mortally wounded; and in that condition was taken prisoner with the greater part of his officers, three thousand of his men being left dead on the field.

Soon after this victory Torstenson passed the Elbe, with an intention of besieging Leipsic; and having seized two posts the possession of which might facilitate that enterprise, he ordered Königsmark to invest the place. But the approach of the arch-

duke and Piccolomini induced him to convert the siege into a blockade, and make preparations for receiving the enemy. They advanced in such a form, that the Swedes were between the imperial army and the town; and Torstenson, finding himself exposed to two fires, filed off his troops into the plain of Breitenfeld. The imperial generals, imagining that his design was to avoid an action, endeavoured to harass his rear; but the Swedish commander, who wished for nothing more than such an opportunity, faced about immediately. A mutual cannonading ensued, and, soon after, a close engagement. Wittemberg, who commanded the right wing of the Swedes, charged the left of the imperialists with such impetuosity, that it was instantly broken. Their right wing, however, behaved in a more spirited manner; and the Swedish cavalry, commanded by Köningsmark, were in danger, for a time, of being routed by the emperor's cuirassiers: but the latter were at length obliged to give way.

While the cavalry of both armies thus disputed the victory, the infantry in the centre fought with inexpressible rage and resolution. At length the Swedish foot, animated by the example of the horse, and supported by a body of reserve, which advanced in the heat of the action, obliged the imperialists to quit the field, and retreat into a wood, with the loss of their cannon. Torstenson pursued the left wing as far as Leipsic; Köningsmark gave no quarter to the right; and the Austrian infantry, being driven from the wood into which they had retired, were surrounded by the enemy, and cut in pieces²⁰.

In this battle, which was fought near the same spot that had beheld the glory of the Swedes under Gustavus a few years before, the imperialists lost five thousand good soldiers; and three hundred officers were found among the slain. The conquerors, who had engaged with very inferior numbers, did not lose above fifteen hundred men. Besides the slaughter of the enemy, they took three hundred prisoners, with forty-six pieces of cannon, one hundred and sixteen pair of colours, and six hundred waggon²¹.

A defeat so total overwhelmed the imperial court with consternation. General Enckenford was ordered to make new levies with all possible expedition; and all the troops in the Austrian service were collected to stop the progress of the victorious Torstenson. That general had again invested Leipsic, and carried on his approaches with such vigour, that the place was under the necessity of surrendering, notwithstanding the valour of the garrison, which excited the admiration of the besiegers. Torstenson was less fortunate in his attempt upon Fridburg,

²⁰ Pufend. lib. xiv.—Barre, tome ix.

²¹ Id. *ibid*.

where he understood the enemy had collected large magazines; for although considerable breaches were made in the fortifications, and an assault given, the garrison sustained it with such unshaken resolution, that he was obliged to recal his troops; and while he was making preparations for a final effort, he learned that Piccolomini, at the head of a considerable army, was approaching to the relief of the place. On this intelligence he ranged his troops in order of battle, and put himself in motion to meet the enemy; but Piccolomini, penetrating his design, took a different route, threw supplies into the town, and retired with the utmost expedition. Now despairing of being able to reduce Fridburg, Torstenson marched into Lusatia, to wait for the reinforcements which he expected from Pomerania and Lower Saxony; and Guebriant, having passed the Maine at Gemund, established quarters of refreshment on the Taubet, and marched toward the Necker²².

While the confederates were thus making progress in Germany, the arms of France were equally successful on the side of Spain. A French army had entered Roussillon, and reduced Colioure and Perpignan. In the mean time, the affairs of the kingdom were in the greatest confusion, and Paris itself was in danger. Francisco de Melo, a man of valour and abilities, who had succeeded the cardinal infant in the government of the Low Countries, having suddenly assembled a body of twenty-five thousand men, threatened France with two inroads; routed the count de Guiche, who attempted to oppose him, and would have appeared before the capital, to which he had opened a passage, had he not received a letter from Olivarez, ordering him to withdraw his troops, under pretence that the enterprise was too hazardous. But the true reason for this order was a secret treaty between the Spanish minister and the duke of Orleans, who, with the duke de Bouillon, Cinq-mars, master of the horse, and M. de Thou, had conspired the ruin of Richelieu, whom they had already brought into discredit with the king.

Fortunately, however, for the cardinal, whose life was at once in danger from violence and disease, he gained intelligence of the treaty with Spain, nearly at the same time that Louis received the news of Guiche's defeat. In the perplexity occasioned by that disaster, the king paid a visit to Richelieu. The cardinal complained of ill usage; Louis confessed his weakness; a reconciliation took place, and the conspirators were arrested. The duke of Orleans was disgraced; Cinq-mars and De Thou lost their heads; and the duke of Bouillon, in order to save his life, was obliged to yield up the principality of Sedan to the crown²³. Thus victorious over all his enemies, Richelieu,

²² Pufend. lib. xiv.—Barre, tome ix.

²³ Batt. Nani, lib. xii.

though still on the verge of the grave, entered Paris in a kind of triumph, a breach being made in the walls, in order to admit the superb litter on which he was carried. While on his way, and hardly able to hold the pen, he wrote to the king the following short letter, which is highly expressive of his haughty character : “ Your enemies are dead, and your troops in possession of Perpignan²⁴ ! ”

So many losses, the confederates expected, would have disposed the house of Austria sincerely to listen to terms of accommodation ; but as the courts of Vienna and Madrid, foresaw that France and Sweden, at such a juncture, would necessarily be high in their demands, they seemed very indifferent about renewing the negotiations. It was at length, however, agreed to open the conferences for a general peace, in the month of July the year following ; and the preliminaries being published, all the unhappy people who had been so long exposed to the calamities of war, congratulated themselves on the pleasing prospect of tranquillity, when the death of cardinal Richelieu, and

Dec. 4. also of his master Louis, once more discoloured the scene. The Swedes, who were doubtful of the politics of the new administration, began to think of

May 14. concluding a separate treaty with the emperor. But
1643, N. S. their fears were soon dispelled by the steady measures of cardinal Mazarine, who showed himself no unworthy successor of Richelieu, whose plan he pursued with vigour. All the operations of war were concerted with as much judgment as formerly ; supplies of every kind were furnished with equal punctuality ; and a young hero sprang up to do honour to France during the minority of Louis XIV. This hero was the celebrated Louis de Bourbon, duke d'Enghein, afterwards honoured with the title of the Great Condé. He cut to pieces, in the plains of Rocroi, the famous Walloon and Castilian infantry, with an inferior army, and took Thionville, into which the Spanish general, Francisco de Melo, after his defeat, had thrown a reinforcement of ten thousand men. Nine thousand Spaniards and Walloons are said to have fallen in the battle of Rocroi²⁵.

The arms of France were less fortunate in Germany. The duke of Lorraine renounced his alliance with that kingdom, and took upon himself the command of the Bavarian troops ; and Guebriant being mortally wounded before Rotweil, which however was reduced, a misunderstanding prevailed among the principal officers of the French army. This was followed by its natural consequences, a relaxation in discipline, the usual forerunner of a defeat. The count de Rantzau, who had suc-

²⁴ Aubert. Hist. du Card. Rich.—Mém. de Madame de Metteville.

²⁵ Mém. du Comte de Brienne, tome ii.

ceeded Guebriant in the chief command, marched to the neighbourhood of Dutlingen, in Suabia. There the count de Merci, the Bavarian general, surprised, routed, and took him prisoner, with the greater part of his officers, and about four thousand private men. The remains of the French army retreated to Alsace, where they were happily collected by the mareschal de Turenne²⁶.

The eyes of all Europe were now turned towards the negotiations at Munster and Osnabrug. The plenipotentiaries named by the emperor were, the count d'Aversperg, and the baron de Krane, with Henry duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, who was chief of the embassy: France deputed the count d'Avaux and de Servien, counsellor of state: Sweden employed Salvius, who was assisted by a son of the celebrated Oxenstiern; and Spain, the marquis de Castel-Rodrigo and Diego de Saavedra. Deputies were also named by the other European powers interested in the negotiations. The citizens of Osnabrug and Munster were released from the oath which they had taken to the emperor; and the regencies of both cities swore that they would observe an exact neutrality²⁷.

Amidst these advances towards peace Torstenson was ordered by the court of Sweden to carry war into the duchy of Holstein; the regents being incensed against the king of Denmark, whom they accused of concealing the intentions of an enemy under the mask of a mediator. He had taken several Swedish vessels in the Sound, and refused to give satisfaction to the regency, which complained of these acts of hostility. It was therefore resolved, in a general assembly of the states of Sweden, that reprisals should be made. That resolution, however, was not publicly known till the moment that Torstenson invaded Holstein. In that duchy he reduced Oldesloe, Kiel, and several other places of importance²⁸.

Christian IV., alarmed at this irruption, complained of it to Torstenson as a palpable infringement of the treaty lately concluded between Denmark and Sweden. But finding that the Swedish general, instead of paying any regard to such remonstrance, penetrating into Jutland, and made himself master of almost all the towns in that province, his Danish majesty had recourse to the emperor, who ordered Galas to march to his assistance in the depth of winter. The imperialist, though much retarded by the snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, at length appeared on the frontiers of Holstein, where a resolution was taken to starve the Swedes in Jutland,

²⁶ *Mém. du Comte de Brienne*, tome ii.—*Barre*, tome ix.

²⁷ *Du Mont*, *Corps Diplomat.* tome vi.

²⁸ *Pufend.* lib. xv.—*Barre*, tome ix.

by occupying the defiles in the neighbourhood of Sleswick.— This design, however, was rendered abortive by the vigilance of Torstenson, who marched toward Rendsburg, with an intention of giving battle to Galas, if he should dispute the passage ; and as the imperialists did not think proper to give him the least molestation, he quitted Holstein, intercepted some of their convoys, and encamped near Ratzburg²⁹.

The French court, finding the general negotiation disturbed by the war between Sweden and Denmark, sent M. de la Thuillierie to Copenhagen, in order to bring about an accommodation. His proposals, however, met with little attention, until the retreat of the imperialists, and an advantage gained by the Swedes over their northern neighbours at sea, made the Danish monarch more tractable. Despairing of being able to obtain fresh succours from the emperor, the haughty and violent Christian now listened to the mediation of France. A. D. 1644. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Bronsebro, by which Sweden restored to Denmark all the towns Torstenson had taken in Holstein; and Christian, on his part, ceded Jemptie, Halland, the isle of Gothland, and its dependencies. Thuillierie also negotiated an alliance between France and Denmark, by which Christian agreed to yield no assistance directly or indirectly, to the enemies of France, or those of her allies³⁰.

The emperor was unable to prevent the ratification of these treaties. Turenne had retrieved the affairs of France upon the Rhine, which he crossed at Brisac, and advancing with a small army toward the source of the Danube, routed the imperialists, commanded by the baron de Merci. He afterwards attempted the relief of Freyburg, which was invested by the Bavarian army, under the count de Merci, brother of the baron ; but finding himself too weak to act with vigour against the enemy, he retired, and fortified a camp within a league of the town. whence he had the mortification to see it surrender. Meantime cardinal Mazarine, informed that the French army was very inferior in strength to the Bavarian host, ordered the duke d'Enghein to join Turenne with a reinforcement. These two generals attacked the Count de Merci near Freyburg with such impetuosity, that, notwithstanding his advantageous situation, which seemed to place him beyond the reach of danger, he was obliged to retire with the loss of three thousand men.

This action, which lasted seven hours, was immediately followed by another, in which the Bavarians gained at first some advantage. But the duke rallied his troops, which seemed disposed to quit the field : and boldly marching against the enemy, drove them three times from their entrenchments, which they

as often regained ; and victory at last remained undecided.—Merci, however, who had lost one half of his army, resolved to avoid another shock by a quick retreat. This he effected in good order, notwithstanding all the attempts of the French to break his rear ; and resolutely continuing his march, he safely reached the country of Wirtemberg, with the remains of his force, leaving to the enemy his artillery and baggage, with all the towns situated between the Rhine and the Moselle, from Mentz to Landau³¹.

Nor were France and Sweden the only foreign powers that incommoded the emperor. Mazarine and Oxenstiern, the better to command the negotiations, as well as to furnish employment for Ferdinand, while the Swedes were engaged in the Danish war, had formed an alliance with Ragotski, vaivode of Transylvania; and that prince, with the consent of the grand signor, to whom he was tributary, entered Hungary at the head of thirty thousand men, and took Cassova. In justification of his conduct he published a manifesto, addressed to the Hungarian nobility, in which he assured them that his sole view in taking up arms was to defend their liberties and privileges against the ambition of the emperor, who intended to make that elective kingdom hereditary in his family. This manifesto was answered by Ferdinand, who sent a body of veteran troops, under general Götz, to expel the Transylvanian prince; and Ragotski's troops being raw and undisciplined, he durst not hazard an engagement, though superior in number to the enemy. Other circumstances conspired to hasten his retreat. He received intelligence that the grand vizir, the chief support of his interest at the court of Constantinople, was dead, and that the king of Poland intended to declare war against him. He was eagerly pursued by Götz: but the country being destitute of provisions, the imperial troops were wasted with famine and fatigue, and afterward totally ruined at the siege of Cassova, where the vaivode had left five regiments, which defended the place with extraordinary courage. That defence, and the loss sustained by the imperialists, inspired Ragotski with fresh courage. He rejected with disdain the terms of peace offered him by Ferdinand ; and was of infinite service to Sweden by dividing the forces of the empire, while her troops were employed in Holstein against the king of Denmark³².

Torstenson, whom we have seen commanding in Holstein, pursued into Lower Saxony count Galas, whose army there experienced a fate similar to that under Götz in Hungary ; it being almost utterly destroyed by famine, fatigue, and the sword of the Swedes. Having now no enemy to oppose him, Torstenson en-

³¹ Barre, tome ix.

³² Barre tome ix.

ered Bohemia, and marched directly towards Prague in the hope of surprising that city, and taking the prisoners the emperor and the archduke Leopold, who had resided there for some time. In this bold attempt, however, he was disappointed. Ferdinand was no sooner apprised of the march of the Swedes, than he ordered all the troops that could be assembled to approach the place of his residence, under Galas, Hasfeld, John de Weert A. D. 1645. (who had at last obtained his liberty,) and the counts Brouay and Montecuculi. But all these forces, commanded by such able generals, not being sufficient to dissipate his fears, the emperor retired with the archduke to Vienna³³.

The imperial army being completely formed, and having stationed itself between Thabor and Budweis, at a small distance from the Swedes, each party diligently watched the motions of the other. Here the superior genius of Torstenson was conspicuous. In order to decoy the imperialists from their advantageous position, he propagated a report that he intended to march into Moravia, and actually took the route to that province; but finding he had gained his point, as the enemy were in motion to follow him, he returned and encamped near Strockwitz. Soon after he passed the Moldaw, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Thabor, whither he was followed by the enemy. Nothing passed, for some days, but slight skirmishes; for although both armies were eager to engage, neither would quit the post it had seized, in order to attack the other. At length, however, Torstenson, trusting to the valour of his troops, resolved to engage. He accordingly advanced towards the hostile camp, in a threatening posture, about break of day, when a brisk cannonading began; and a close fight ensued for four hours. In the beginning of the action the left wing of the Swedes gave way; but being supported in time, the battle was restored, and Torstenson charged the imperialists with such fury, as to break their cavalry and destroy a considerable part of their infantry, General Götz, and about three thousand men, were left dead on the field; twenty-six pieces of cannon were taken, with sixty-three pair of colours, and four thousand prisoners, among whom were Hasfeld and other officers of distinction. The pursuit was no less bloody than the battle.—Twelve hundred of the imperial infantry were slain in one body, and a great number taken prisoners, together with three thousand horse³⁴.

Struck with terror by these repeated misfortunes, Ferdinand pressed the elector of Bavaria to assist him with troops: and that prince sent four thousand men to Vienna, excusing himself from furnishing a greater number, as he was obliged to protect

³³ Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x.—Barre, tome ix. ³⁴ Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x.—Barre, tome ix.

his own dominions against the insults of the French, who threatened the upper Palatinate. Galas, at the same time, collected the broken remains of the imperial army in Bohemia; set on foot new levies; and having formed a respectable body of troops, encamped under the cannon of Pilsen, in order to observe the motions of Torstenson; who, in consequence of his late victory had reduced Pilgran, Iglaw, and several other places. Krems, Stein, and the fort of Tynstein, also submitted to the conqueror; so that the Swedes were now masters of the Danube on the side of Moravia: and all the towns in that province surrendered at discretion, except Brinn, which Torstenson besieged, as the reduction of it seemed necessary to facilitate his junction with Ragotski, on which was supposed to depend the fate of Hungary and Austria.

This enterprise occasioned such alarm at the court of Vienna, that the emperor retired to Ratisbon, and the empress and her attendants fled for refuge to Gratz in Stiria. The most valuable articles of furniture were removed from the capital, the suburbs were pulled down, and the bastions and ramparts repaired. Some old regiments threw themselves into the city; the inhabitants were armed; the magazines filled, and preparations made for supporting a long siege. Torstenson, however, had no thoughts of such an enterprise. He found sufficient employment at Brinn; which, by its gallant defence, afforded Ferdinand leisure to put his affairs in some order. Leopold was declared commander-in-chief of the imperial forces; and Galas assembled the militia from all quarters to augment the army, that he might be able to prevent the Swedes from crossing the Danube. Nor was the elector of Bavaria less busy in taking measures to oppose the progress of the French.

General Merci having received intelligence that the marshal de Turenne, after quitting his winter quarters at Spire, had established his head post at Mariendal, and that his troops were dispersed in the neighbouring towns for the convenience of subsistence, resolved to attack him by surprise, in hopes of defeating him before he could assemble his forces. Extending himself, with this view, in the plain of Mariendal, he drew up his army in order of battle. He placed his foot in the centre, and his cavalry on the two wings. After cannonading the French for some time, he put himself at the head of his infantry, and marched to the attack of a small wood that covered their front; a post which it was absolutely necessary for him to possess, before his left wing, commanded by John de Weert, could act to advantage. Turenne, at the same time, with his cavalry, charged the right wing of the imperialists, which he broke, and penetrated as far as the second line. But, during these

efforts, three thousand French, under the command of general Rose, were routed and dispersed by the Bavarians ; and de Weert, perceiving their confusion, advanced with his left wing, in order to take Turenne in the rear. Sensible of the danger of being surrounded, the mareschal ordered his cavalry to wheel about, and retire across the wood ; at the other side of which, being joined by three fresh regiments of foot, and fifteen hundred horse that had been already engaged, he ranged them in order of battle, with a view of attacking the enemy, should they pass the wood. Merci, however, did not think proper to try the experiment ; so that the French general, having collected his broken troops, retired in the face of the enemy ; crossed the Maine in their despite, and reached the frontier of Hesse, where he found that he had lost great part of his infantry, twelve hundred horse, and his whole baggage.

Elate with this advantage, the elector of Bavaria made very lofty proposals of peace to France : and Mazarine, without regard to them, sent a reinforcement of eight thousand men to Turenne, under the conduct of the duke d'Enghein. These two commanders resolved to bring the Bavarians to a general action. With this view Turenne, whose day it was to lead, advanced at the head of his cavalry, to engage the enemy. But they had taken post upon a rising ground so difficult of access, that it seemed hazardous to attack them. The duke, having afterwards the chief command, resolved to advance towards the Danube, and was prosecuting his march to Nordlingen, when he received intelligence that the Bavarians were come up with him. He immediately ranged his army in order of battle, upon the same plain where the Swedes had suffered a melancholy defeat soon after the death of Gustavus ; giving the command of the right wing to the mareschal de Gramont, and that of the left to Turenne. Marsin, an officer of reputation was placed at the head of the first line of infantry ; the second, composed chiefly of Hessians, was commanded by major-general Geiss ; and the sieur de Chabot conducted the corps de reserve.

The Bavarian right wing, composed solely of infantry, was posted upon high ground, and the main body entrenched below. Still lower lay a village, and on the left wing, commanded by John de Weert, stood a fortress. The action was begun by the duke d'Enghein, who ordered Marsin to attack the village ; but he being dangerously wounded, and the troops under his command giving way, the French general sent in his room the marquis de Moussau with a reinforcement. This body also was broken, and would have been utterly destroyed, had not the duke in person led on the whole French infantry to the assistance of the marquis. Nor could their utmost efforts turn the

tide of battle, until the count de Merci was slain at the head of his conquering troops. Even after the death of that great captain, all the intrepidity of the duke d'Enghein, who displayed the most heroic valour, could not prevent the destruction of great part of the French infantry. And to increase the misfortunes of the future Condé, the left wing of the Bavarians fell with such fury upon the French cavalry, that they were totally routed, and the mareschal de Gramont made prisoner; while John de Weert, attacking the corps de reserve, defeated Chabot, and penetrated as far as the baggage. During these disasters, Turenne assailed the right wing of the enemy; and when he had reached the summit of the eminence in good order, a terrible conflict ensued, in which he broke the first line of the Bavarians; but general Gleen advancing with the second, the French were ready to give way in their turn, when the duke d'Enghein came seasonably to the support of his left wing. He obliged the Bavarians to retire, and leave their cannon, which were pointed against the part of their right wing drawn up near the village. Turenne now charged the enemy in flank, and drove them beyond the village, after having taken general Gleen prisoner. Meantime John de Weert, partly informed of what had passed upon the hill, hastened thither with his victorious left wing; but he came too late to retrieve the honour of the day, every thing being already in confusion. All that he could do, therefore, was to lead off the remains of the Bavarian army to Donawert, whither they escaped under cover of night, though pursued as far as the banks of the Danube³⁵.

This victory, if such it may be called, was dearly purchased by the French, four thousand of their best soldiers being left dead upon the spot. Nordlingen and some neighbouring places, indeed, opened their gates to the conquerors; but they were soon recovered by the Bavarians, who received a strong reinforcement under Leopold. Turenne, however, after the departure of the duke d'Enghein, who went to Paris to receive the applause due to his valour, had the honour of closing the campaign with re-establishing the elector of Treves in his dominions. That prince, after a captivity of ten years, had obtained his liberty, in consequence of a second treaty with Ferdinand, by which he submitted to the articles of the peace of Prague, and other rigorous conditions. But as he signed this treaty with no other view than to deliver himself from a tedious and grievous imprisonment, he threw himself upon the protection of France, as soon as he was liberated; and cardinal Mazarine ordered Turenne to effect his restoration. The mareschal accordingly in-

35 Barre, tome ix.—Heiss, lib. iii. chap. x.—Hist. du Prince de Condé.

vested Treves: the garrison was obliged to capitulate, and the elector entered his capital amidst the acclamations of his subjects³⁶.

The elector of Saxony finding himself unable to stop the progress of the Swedes under Köningsmark, who had reduced a number of towns in Thuringia and Misnia, had recourse to a negotiation, and concluded a truce with that general for six months, as a prelude to a peace with Sweden. This treaty was the more disagreeable to the house of Austria, as it enabled Köningsmark, after laying Bohemia under contribution, to form a junction with Torstenson, who had carried his depredations to the very gates of Vienna, in spite of all the efforts of the archduke. The emperor, however, in some degree counterbalanced the defection of the elector of Saxony, by a peace with Ragotski. He acknowledged that prince sovereign of Transylvania, and restored to him certain possessions in Hungary, which had belonged to his predecessor, Bethlem Gabor³⁷.

Torstenson, after his junction with Köningsmark, proposed to undertake the siege of Prague; but Leopold, being joined by the count de Bouchain, took such effectual measures for securing that city, as rendered the attempt impracticable. A. D. 1646. Chagrined at this disappointment, and greatly afflicted with the gout, Torstenson retired to his own country. He was succeeded in the chief command by general Wrangel, who supported the reputation of the Swedish arms, and in conjunction with Turenne, ravaged Franconia, Silesia, and Moravia.

In order to secure his dominions against these ravages, the elector of Bavaria withdrew his troops from the service of the emperor, and concluded a separate peace with France. His example was followed by the archbishop of Cologne; A. D. 1647. and the archbishop of Mentz, and the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, were reduced by the victorious Turenne to the necessity of taking the same step. He laid waste their dominions, and struck all Germany with the terror of his arms. Nor were the Swedes inactive. Having garrisoned the towns they possessed in Westphalia and Upper Suabia, they made themselves masters of Schweinfurt, which had cut off the communication between these two provinces; and again entering Bohemia, reduced Egra in presence of the imperial army³⁸.

The confederates were less successful in other quarters. Nothing of consequence had been effected either in Italy or the Low Countries, during the last two campaigns, and in Spain the reputation of two celebrated French generals had been tarnished. In 1646 the count d' Harcourt, viceroy of Catalonia, be-

36 Barre, tome ix.

37 Annal. de l'Emp. tome ii.

38 Barre, tome ix.—Heiss, liv. iii. chap. 10.

siege of Lerida. The garrison was not strong, nor was the place in a state of defence. But don Antonio de Brito, the governor, had the address to make the French believe that his condition was yet more desperate than he found it; so that they did not press the siege so vigorously as they otherwise might, from a persuasion that he would surrender at discretion. Meanwhile the marquis de Leganez, the Spanish general, who knew exactly the state of the garrison, caused a great convoy to be provided. When it was nearly ready, he advanced towards Lerida, seemingly with the intention of relieving the place; but, after remaining some days within sight of the French army, he decamped, as if he had abandoned his design. Having forwarded the convoy, he marched back to the town: and appeared unexpectedly, in order of battle, on one side of the French lines; while, on the other, the convoy with a strong reinforcement safely entered the place, during the hurry of the besiegers to receive the enemy. Harcourt therefore found himself under the necessity of raising the siege; a disappointment which chagrined him so much that he resigned the command, and returned to France, where he was very coldly received by Mazarine³⁹.

The prince of Condé, formerly duke d'Enghein, was now appointed viceroy of Catalonia; the Catalans, as already observed, having put themselves under the protection of France. Elate with past success, he resolved to distinguish the beginning of his administration by the reduction of Lerida, in which his predecessor had failed. Fortunately he found the lines of the Count d'Harcourt so little damaged, that they were easily repaired, and the trenches were opened with a flourish of violins. The conduct of don Antonio de Brito, who was well supplied with every necessary, and had a garrison of three thousand men, was the very reverse of what it had been the year before. He harassed the enemy with continued sallies, and disputed with obstinacy every inch of ground. The French ascribe this change of conduct to his being sensible that they had made the attack in the weakest place, and concluded that he would be obliged to surrender as soon as they had made themselves masters of the outworks; but, in the midst of these sanguine expectations, peculiar to the French nation, the engineers found their progress obstructed by a rock. It was impossible to proceed—it was too late to begin again; the troops were diminished by fatigue—the heats were coming on. The Spanish army, under the marquis d'Aitona, advanced to the relief of the place, and the prince of Condé was obliged to raise the siege⁴⁰. The rest of

39 Quincy, Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV.—Mém. de Madame de Motteville.

40 Martinière, Hist. Gen. d'Espagne.—Quincy, Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV.

the campaign was spent in fruitless marches and counter-marches.

The conclusion of the year was not more fortunate for the confederates in Germany. The elector of Bavaria was prevailed upon to renounce the alliance he had concluded with France, and re-unite himself to the emperor; and, in consequence of the union of the Bavarian and imperial forces, Wrangel was obliged to abandon Bohemia. After being harassed by the Austrian general Melander, in a long and difficult march, he took up his winter quarters in the duchy of Brunswick.

A. D. 1648. Early in the spring, however, the Swedish general led out his army, hoping to surprise the enemy in their cantonments; but they were apprised of his intention, and had assembled their troops. To atone for this failure, Wrangel advanced, in conjunction with Turenne, against the Austrians and Bavarians at Zummerhausen, near the Danube. There a furious battle was fought; and the imperial forces were defeated, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Montecuculi and Wittemberg. These able generals were only able to save the remains of the army, by a masterly retreat to Augsburg⁴¹.

Piccolomini arriving soon after from the Netherlands, assumed the chief command of the imperial forces, in the room of Melander, who was slain. His presence seemed to infuse new spirit into the troops: but he could not prevent the confederates from passing the Lech, and penetrating into Bavaria, where they laid the whole country under contribution, and obliged the elector to quit his capital, and take refuge in Saltzburg.

Nor was the victory at Zummerhausen the only advantage the confederates had gained since the opening of the campaign. The Hessians had defeated the baron Lomboy near Grevenburg, in the duchy of Juliers; and Köningsmark had surprised the new city of Prague. In the mean time Charles Gustavus, count Palatine of Deux Ponts, arriving from Sweden, with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, undertook the siege of Old Prague; and carried on his approaches with such vigour, that the place must have been taken, had not the emperor, dreading the loss of that capital, and of the whole kingdom of Bohemia, resolved in earnest to conclude the long-demanded peace⁴².

Hitherto the negotiations at Munster and Osnabrug had varied according to the vicissitudes of the war; but the French and Swedes being now decidedly victorious, and having no other enemy in Germany than the emperor, all the rest being

41 Barre, tome ix.—Hist. de Turenne.—Heiss, liv. iii. chap. x.

42 Id. *ibid.*

either subdued or in alliance with them, it only remained for Ferdinand to receive law from those powers. Other circumstances conspired to forward the treaty. Sweden, notwithstanding the great success of its arms during eighteen years of hostility, wished for peace; and the young queen Christina, so distinguished by her love of learning, was desirous of repose, that she might have leisure to pursue her favourite studies. The United Provinces, jealous of France, had recently concluded a separate treaty with Spain; in which their independence was not only acknowledged, but the republic was declared a free and sovereign state, by the only power that had disputed it, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, with an obstinacy to which history affords no parallel, for above seventy years. France, therefore, was left to sustain alone the whole weight of the war against the Spanish branch of the house of Austria; and cardinal Mazarine, her prime minister, being at the same time threatened with an intestine war, became more moderate in his demands at the congress, as well as more sincerely disposed to promote the tranquillity of Germany⁴³.

In consequence of these favourable occurrences and corresponding views, the memorable PEACE OF WEST-
 PHALIA was at length signed at Munster. As it Oct. 24. N.S.
 is a fundamental law of the empire, and the basis of all subsequent treaties, I must make you acquainted, my dear Philip, with the substance of the principal articles of it. In order to satisfy the different powers, the following important stipulations were found necessary; namely, that France should possess the sovereignty of the three bishoprics (Metz, Toul, and Verdun), the city of Pignerol, Brisac and its dependencies, the territory of Suntgaw, the landgraviates of Upper and Lower Alsace, and the right to keep a garrison in Philipsburg; that to Sweden should be granted, besides five millions of crowns, the archbishopric of Bremen and the bishopric of Verden secularised, Upper Pomerania, Stetin, the isle of Rugen, and the city of Wismar, in the duchy of Mecklenburgh, all to be holden as fiefs of the empire, with three votes at the diet; that the elector of Brandenburg should be reimbursed for the loss of Upper Pomerania, by the cession of the bishopric of Magdeburg secularised, and by having the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin declared secular principalities, with four votes at the diet; that the duke of Mecklenburg, as an equivalent for Wismar, should have the bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzburg, erected, in like manner, into secular principalities; that the electoral dignity, with the Upper Palatinate, should remain with

⁴³ Aubert, Hist. du Card. Mazarin.—Barre.—Le Clerc

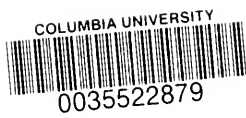
Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, and his descendants, as long as they should produce male issue ; but that the Lower Palatinate should be restored to Charles Louis, in whose favour should be established an eighth electorate, to continue till the extinction of the house of Bavaria. All the other princes and states of the empire were re-established in the lands, rights, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the troubles of Bohemia in 1618. The republic of Switzerland was declared to be a sovereign state, exempt from the jurisdiction of the empire ; and the long-disputed succession of Cleves and Juliers, with the restitution of Lorrain, was referred to arbitration⁴⁴.

The stipulations on the subject of religion were no less accurate and comprehensive. The pacification of Passau was confirmed in its full extent ; and it was farther agreed, that the Calvinists should enjoy the same privileges with the Lutherans ; that the imperial chamber should consist of twenty-four Protestant members, and twenty-six Catholics ; that the emperor should receive six Protestants into his aulic council ; and that an equal number of Catholic and Protestant deputies should be chosen for the diet, except when it should be convoked for the regulation of points that might concern one only of the two religions ; that all the deputies should be Protestants, if the objects of discussion should belong to their religion ; and Catholics in the opposite case⁴⁵.

These are the great outlines of the peace of Westphalia, so essential to the tranquillity of Europe in general, and to that of Germany in particular. War, however, between France and Spain, was continued with various success, until the treaty of the Pyrenées, negotiated in 1659, when Louis XIV. was married to the infanta Maria Theresa, as I shall afterward have occasion more particularly to relate. In the mean time we must make a pause.

⁴⁴ Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. tome vi.—Pfeffel, Abrégé Chronol.

⁴⁵ Du Mont, ubi supra.



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